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The Red Jews: Apocalypticism and antisemitism in medieval and early modern Germany

Gow, Andrew Colin, Ph.D.

The University of Arizona, 1993

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THE RED JEWS:

APOCALYPTICISM AND ANTISEMITISM

IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN GERMANY

by

Andrew Colin Gow

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
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DEDICATION

For Josh and Anne

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ABSTRACT

The Red Jews are a legendary people; this is their history. From the late thirteenth to the late sixteenth century, vernacular German texts depicted the Red Jews, a conflation of the Biblical ten lost tribes of Israel and Gog and Magog, as a savage and unnaturally foul nation, who are enclosed in the 'Caspian Mountains', where they had been walled up by Alexander the Great. At the end of time, they will break out and serve the Antichrist, causing great destruction and suffering in the world. The hostile identification (c. 1165) of Jews with the apocalyptic destroyers of Ezekiel 38-39 and Revelation 20 expresses a new and virulent antisemitism that was integrated into the powerful apocalyptic traditions of Christianity.

None of the few scholars who have noticed the Red Jews in medieval and early modern vernacular texts has sought out, collected and examined the complete body of medieval and early-modern sources that feature the Red Jews. This study provides a long-term analysis of the intimate connections between antisemitism and apocalypticism via a forgotten and submerged piece of German 'medievalia', the Red Jews.

The legend gradually dissipated. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century it was a medieval lens through which Germans saw events relating to the Turkish threat in the East; after that time, the Red Jews disappeared from European texts.

I: INTRODUCTION

"Un document est un témoin; comme la plupart des témoins, il ne parle guère que lorsqu'on l'interroge."[1] -- Marc Bloch

1. Prospectus

The Last Things have occupied Christian thinkers and believers at least since the composition of the book of Revelation, a work closely related to the Jewish apocalyptic tradition. A associated concern to Christians since the separation of the early Christian communities from their Jewish roots is the final conversion of the Jews, prophesied in the Christian Scriptures[2] and eagerly awaited as a necessary part of the final drama that would free the suffering, confessing Christians from the bonds of a sinful world. The Revelation of St. John and other biblical, apocryphal and classical material -- including the prophecies of the Tiburtine Sibyl -- played a major role in the constitution of Christian apocalyptic thougnt in late antiquity. One of the most popular apocalyptic tales in medieval Europe, the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius, was the main vehicle (outside the Bible) for eschatological themes, though it augmented and distorted them in ways that would

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1. Marc Bloch, "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes", in: *Mélanges historiques* 1 (Paris, 1963), 1-30; 20.

2. Rom. 11,16-27; esp. 26.

come. The Alexander novel[3] of late antiquity was a powerful literary parallel that continued to exert a powerful influence on medieval apocalyptic.

Throughout the Middle Ages and on through the Reformation, apocalyptic expectations gripped all social and intellectual groups;[4] they were spread and confirmed not only in Latin works, but also in vernacular literature. Interwoven with the ubiquitous belief in a final Tribulation was the

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[3]. For the earliest history of the Alexander material see Julius Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes. Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der ältesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage* (Halle 1867). More recently Friedrich Pfister, *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman* (Meisenheim am Glan 1976), and George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (New York and London: Garland Press, 1987; reprint of the 1956 Cambridge University Press edition) have pursued Alexander in texts stretching from late antiquity to the Reformation. The untimely death of George Cary prevented him from accomplishing the bulk of his research goals on the topic of the Alexander story. See also Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1932) and D.J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus. A guide to medieval illustrated Alexander literature* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1963; =Warburg Institute Surveys, 1).

[4]. As František Graus argues in his book *Pest-Geißler-Judenmorde. Das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit* (Göttingen, 1987). Although the plague of the mid-fourteenth century did not produce apocalyptic expectations any stronger than those common to the so-called high and later middle ages, the fourteenth century was to be a hotbed of apocalyptic angst: "Wohl in keinem Jahrhundert des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters mangelte es an Stimmen, die das nahende Weltende, die drohende Nähe des Jüngsten Gerichts verkündeten. In den Fußstapfen St. Augustins sahen sich immer wieder Generationen am Ende der Tage angelangt: die zwangsläufige Folge war, daß sich eschatologische Erwähnungen zuweilen zu reinen Topoi wandelten. Sie waren jedoch allgegenwärtig, nicht auf Kreise versponnener Außenseiter beschränkt..." (70-71).

notion that the Jews were to play an important role in the last events. This would be conversion, according to the traditional and 'friendlier' Joachite view.

As medieval antisemitism moved beyond occasional pogroms toward a codified and legalistic system of disadvantages and restrictions,[5] based in part on the ineffectual and patchy imperial protection owed to the Jews as imperial serfs, the role to be played by the Jews at the end of time grew correspondingly more sinister. Thus, the hostile vision of the Jews that governed the medieval evolution of the role Christians believed Jews would play at the End was grounded not primarily in anti-Judaism, that is, opposition to Jewish religious tenets and doctrines, but in the antisemitic creation, out of ancient legends and prophecies, Scriptural passages interpreted to fit these stories, and half-understood snippets of Jewish Messianic lore, of a system of belief and prophecy that cast the Jews as apocalyptic destroyers.[6] This

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[5]. See Lea Dasberg, *Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des Judenstatus im 11. Jahrhundert* (Paris/The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965).

[6]. The literature devoted to antisemitism, anti-Judaism and the question of which term applies to which manifestations of hatred for the Jews and things Jewish is truly immense. One of the only commentators on such phenomena in pre-modern and early modern times to approach the subject with clarity and logical order has been Gavin Langmuir. In a series of articles published since the late 1960s and collected, with significant new chapters, in his book *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), Langmuir has dealt with the social, economic, religious and psychological

study demonstrates that antisemitism and apocalypticism are so inextricably intertwined in medieval Europe that they must be studied together in order to form a coherent and accurate picture of both phenomena. This is particularly so when these seemingly disparate phenomena merge thematically to form one overarching system of prophetic, exegetical and 'historical' (*heilsgeschichtlich*) interpretation -- in theological, literary and 'everyday' texts.

Chapters II and III concentrate on the traditions that prepared and produced the characteristically German apocalyptic and antisemitic legend of the Red Jews. This legend represents the most virulent form of antisemitic apocalypticism, in which dread produces loathing. The result is a dehumanizing, even racist vision of the 'Jewish

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factors involved in Christian hostility toward Jews from antiquity to the present. His view is that "until about the year 1000, hostility toward Jews was purely anti-Judaic and generally insignificant", but after 1100, in the more self-consciously Christian societies of western Europe, Jews came to be excluded systematically from Christian life (303-304). The thirteenth century saw the rise of antisemitic accusations (the blood libel, ritual cannibalism, Host desecration) so unfounded in observable reality that Langmuir suggests a new term to describe these products of the Christian imagination: 'chimeria', from the Greek *chimera* (esp. 328-350). Although he argues convincingly that the current use of the term antisemitism is misleading and imprecise, due above all to its racist overtones and pseudo-scientific baggage, he continues to use the term as a catch-all to describe phenomena that target Jews not simply as one minority among others, in classic xenophobic fashion, but as a particular menace and symbol of evil: phenomena that focus on Jews a complex of irrational fantasies ('chimeria') used to justify their murder, even their complete eradication (351-352).

destroyers'. The roots of this legend are to be found in classical and biblical antiquity; namely 1) the story of the monstrously foul 'unclean nations' enclosed by Alexander the Great, to protect civilization, behind a wall in a mountain range, or between two mountains, in the far north-east (seen from the Mediterranean); 2) the legend of Gog and Magog, the biblical destroyers of the Apocalypse (Ezekiel 38-39, interpreted in Rev. 20), who will destroy the world at the end of time; and 3) the legend of the ten 'lost' northern tribes of Israel (2 Kings 17; 4 Ezra [Esdras] 13), long believed by many Jews (and later by Christians) to be a huge army waiting somewehere in the east, in reserve, against the day when God would send them out to wreak havoc on a sinful world.

My first tasks are a) to trace the sources of these legends and their dissemination through the western (Christian) tradition, and b) to analyze the powerful conglomerate tale that emerged in the later 12th century from a conflation of these three traditions. The imaginary people thus constructed as 'unclean Jewish destroyers of Christianity' was to have a long history in European letters, and would take on a peculiar coloring in German-language texts both literary and religious. The name Red Jews, attached to the horrific 'enclosed Jews' in the later thirteenth century, was first used in courtly literature, but soon passed into less high-flown genres where it came to strike a note of sheer

terror as the Christian idea of Jewish participation in the Last Things turned sinister[2] and apocalyptic angst mingled with antisemitic animus.[3]

The legend of the Red Jews occurs only in German texts.[4] All the evidence I have found suggests that the Red Jews were

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[2]. Winfried Frey has sketched in broad terms the change from the 12th to the 16th century in Christian expectations concerning the role of the Jews at the end of time: in the Tegernsee 'Ludus de Antichristo' of the 12th C., the Jews are taken in by the Antichrist only after he subdues all the other peoples of the earth; in the sermons of Berthold of Regensburg, the Jews 'left over' after the reign and destruction of the Antichrist will convert -- i.e., the Jews are not the servants of the Antichrist from the beginning. However, in the Lucerne Passion Play of 1540, the Jews are the first and most important servants of the Antichrist; see "Gottesmörder und Menschenfeinde. Zum Judenbild in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters", in: *Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt*, ed. Alfred Ebenbauer and Klaus Zatloukal (Vienna/ Cologne/Weimar, 1991), 35-51, esp. 44-45. This fleeting sample points to a dramatic and fateful development which will be treated in detail in the appropriate context. Frey jumps to the mid-sixteenth century Antichrist play of Lucerne (1549) as the *terminus ad quem*, but as he suggests, the change has already occurred by the fifteenth century; cf. the 1450 chiroxylographic *Antichrist* in chapters IV and V.

[3]. For a discussion of the frightening groundswell, in the later Middle Ages, of violent European antisemitism, see Heiko A. Oberman, "The Stubborn Jews. Timing the Escalation of Antisemitism in Late Medieval Europe", in: *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 34 (1989), xi-xxv.

[4]. The three exceptions prove the rule: two are in late Latin texts composed by German speakers; one is in the Middle Swedish *Konung Alexander*, a translation from the Latin Alexander novel that borrows the term from the German tradition.

known only in the German-speaking world,[9] and remained an integral part of the German world-view accessible to us through vernacular texts until the end of the sixteenth century. The existence of a specific term probably helped preserve this medieval legend into the 'modern' era.

On the basis of the background established in chapters II and III, chapters IV to VI of this study will analyze the role of the Red Jews in late medieval and Reformation-era popular apocalyptic belief 1) as it articulated powerful and pervasive antisemitic prejudice and beliefs in the German-speaking lands; 2) as it related to the immensely popular and influential legend of the Antichrist; and 3) as it functioned in a series of hitherto overlooked sixteenth-century German pamphlets that report on the Turks and their activities in the east.

In the second half of the fifteenth and first decades of the sixteenth century, the legend of the Red Jews participated in an intense burst of apocalyptic expectation. Christians and Jews paid anguished attention to possible signs that the Last Days were at hand. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Messianic hopes among the Jews left in the Iberian peninsula

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". I include under the term "German-speaking" the Low Countries, at least in the Middle Ages, when linguistic differences were neither so great nor so sharply defined.

and among those in Italy[1] and Germany contributed to renewed Jewish hopes for the imminent arrival of the Messiah -- regarded by many Christians as the Antichrist. Among Christians, all levels of society were affected. The belief that Jews, especially 'imaginary', or rather, fictitious Jews -- the real ones were being driven out of the German towns and territories -- were to be responsible for the coming disaster was central to popular attitudes. The medieval legend of the Red Jews was very much alive in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its popularity is documented in the *Antichrist* books of the fifteenth century. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it must still have been well known, because the learned commentators Victor von Carben (1508) and Johannes Agricola (1528) take the trouble to denounce the story of the Red Jews among Jews and Christians, respectively, as a foolish tale. In 1530, both Luther and Anthonius Margaritha mention and dismiss as a fable the legend of the Red Jews -- whether in its traditional Christian form,[2] or, as with Victor and

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1. See S. Krauss, "Le Roi de France, Charles VIII, et les espérances messianiques", in: *Revue des études juives*, LI (1906), 87-95, cited in Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London: SPCK, 1976), 37, note 18.

2. I.e., the Red Jews = Gog and Magog = the ten tribes of Israel = the peoples enclosed by Alexander the Great.

Margaritha, understood as the Ten Tribes only.[3] These sources of information are largely 'negative', just as medieval penitentials provide information *e negativo* about popular 'superstitions' and beliefs. Yet there is also positive evidence that this legend persisted well into the Reformation era. Pamphlets dated 1523, 1562 and 1596 all warn that the Red Jews are on the march toward Jerusalem -- yet the context of each pamphlet is different, and the uses to which the Red Jews are put change accordingly over the course of the century. All these pamphlets were printed in numerous editions; all relate to threatened or actual wars involving the Ottoman Empire. The military advances of the Turks caused considerable terror throughout the sixteenth century, even though political leaders (e.g., Charles V) were slow to take the Turkish threat seriously. Not so Luther, and not so a large portion of the

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[3]. To these converted Jews, the "Red Jews" were the Ten Tribes, pure and simple: they were not aware of, or at least made no mention of the components that characterized the 'Red Jews' in the Christian tradition, namely, their identity with Gog and Magog and the idea that they had been enclosed by Alexander the Great. The Jewish tradition lacked these elements, following Biblical passages that depict the Ten Tribes as having been carried off to the east by the Assyrian king Salmanassar, then enclosed by divine providence beyond a river that could not be crossed, except on the Sabbath -- hence Sabbation or Sambation --, when orthodox Jews do not undertake journeys (in this case: cross rivers). God would stop the flow when it was time for the Ten Tribes to issue forth into the world again, at the advent of the Messiah. Victor and Antonius may have influenced Christian understanding of the term 'Red Jews', especially in the 1523 pamphlet. This does not apply to the case of Agricola, Luther or the later sixteenth-century pamphlets (see ch. VI).

German-speaking population of the Empire, to judge from these pamphlets. The Red Jews appear in this context not because they had been sighted by anyone, but because -- given the apocalyptic associations of the Turks, a view assiduously promoted by Luther -- the Red Jews belonged in the picture: they were a traditional and tradition-sanctioned element in the apocalyptic jigsaw puzzle.

By 1596, the Red Jews are even said to have allied themselves with Christendom; they have become a secular nation, like any other. German texts dating from 1607 and 1608 both make it clear that to fairly well-educated writers of the time, the Red Jews were nothing but a vulgar fiction. Around this time, the Red Jews fell into oblivion in the German-speaking lands, as other, more clearly Biblical and more obviously real nations (e.g., Gog and Magog, and the Turks) took their place in the slot reserved for the archenemies and future destroyers of Christendom.

Gog and Magog were, to Luther, 'real' apocalyptic destroyers, sanctioned by Biblical proof-texts, and he found them in the Turks of his own day; the Red Jews were not. The difference between the Red Jews, a people described in medieval romance and popular exegesis (based in part on Biblical sources), and the Biblical Ten Tribes or Gog and Magog was more important to the Reformers and Christians brought up in the Biblicism of the post-Reformation era than

it had been to their medieval ancestors and late-medieval contemporaries.[14]

The Biblical legend of the Ten Tribes pure and simple, stripped of its medieval association with Gog and Magog, would continue to function in Christian lore, apocalyptic expectations and ethnography until the twentieth century. In the realm of popular religion, Gog and Magog enjoyed less attention,[15] as did their traditional jailer, the Alexander of

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[14]. Ozment argues that, in the sphere of popular religion, the Reformation resulted in a "successful displacement of traditional beliefs and practices", with corresponding consequences; "Social History", 182. My conclusions suggest a somewhat more complex constellation: late medieval 'traditional beliefs and practices' not only operated during the Reformation period, they survived it -- albeit in a very different form. There can be little doubt that a new emphasis on Biblical learning and texts, as opposed to vernacular and Latin commentaries, Historiated Bibles, and abbreviations, helped change the 'canon' and the beliefs and practices of the broad masses. Robert Bast shows in "Honor Your Fathers. Religious Ideology and Social Discipline in Early Modern Germany, 1400-1600" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1993) that the Reformers' emphasis on the Decalogue as Law, drawn from late-medieval monastic tradition, would have a similar effect on moral ordinances and standards in the Protestant cities and states.

[15]. At least in German sources; in London, the 'Guildhall Giants' Gog and Magog drew on a tradition according to which these two names referred to giants. See H. Bieling, "Zu den Sagen von Gog und Magog", *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm der Sophien-Realschule*, Easter 1882 (Berlin, 1882), 1-23, on the place of 'Gog and Magog' in the popular culture of London from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The names 'Gog and Magog' were been applied to the former Soviet Union by right-wing American evangelicals in the context of an expected nuclear apocalypse. This independent exegesis of Ezekiel 38 and Rev. 20 mirrors the widespread medieval habit of seeing in certain peoples -- Huns, Goths, Mongols, Jews or Turks -- the destroyers prophesied in Scripture.

romance. The detail-oriented distinction between the Biblical narratives concerning the Ten Tribes or Gog and Magog, and the medieval legend of the Red Jews marks a divergence in mentality, in standard categories of thought and of legitimate belief, and in the canon of accepted authorities.

2. Scholarship

The 'Red Jews' consistently have baffled the very few scholars who have taken explicit notice of them. No-one has ever been able to make much sense of the name -- perhaps because it has never been placed in a historical and literary context conducive to analysis. In 1989, Helmut Birkhan of the University of Vienna noted three medieval texts in which the Red Jews appear, suggesting that 'rot' (red) in its middle High German sense of 'falseness', 'unfaithfulness' (Judas as exemplar) may explain the term, and concludes inconclusively "In any case, the 'red Jews' are lost, rebellious Jews."[16] In 1979, Christoph Peter Burger noted in his commentary to the

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[5]. "Immerhin sind die "roten Juden" verirrte, abtrünnige Juden. Eine Abwertung der Juden schlechthin, ist hier noch nicht deutlich." This last statement -- that the term does not denigrate Jews in general -- is unconvincing. As we will see below, it is based on a pejorative use of 'red' that was applied to Jews in other contexts as well. "Die Juden in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters", in: *Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt*. Protokolle einer Ring-Vorlesung gehalten im Sommersemester 1989 an der Universität Wien (= Wiener Arbeiten zur germanistischen Altertumskunde und Philologie, 33), 143-162; 150.

facsimile edition of the 1480 Strasbourg *Antichrist und die Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht* that the name "Red Jews" for the Ten Tribes is as yet unexplained -- the term is also to be found, he notes, in the Younger Titurel.[17]

Friedrich Pfister, the foremost German student of the Alexander cycle, refers in numerous places to the 'Red Jews' of the Alexander novel, but fails to notice that the term crops up only in specific texts, denotes a very precise phenomenon, and never appears in the Latin Alexander novel as such[18] -- only in vernacular reworkings that draw on the Alexander material.

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[17]. Christoph Peter Burger, "Endzeiterwartungen im späten Mittelalter", in: *Der Antichrist und die Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht*. Kommentarband zum Faksimile der ersten typographischen Ausgabe eines unbekannten Straßburger Druckers, um 1480 (Hamburg, 1979), 18-78, esp. 50: "Ungeklärt geblieben ist bisher die Bezeichnung der zehn Stämme als Rote Juden. Davon sprechen Hugo a Novo Castro und der Jüngere Titurel." I have been unable to find any reference to Red Jews in the work of Hugo a Novo Castro. Burger takes this apocryphal detail from Hans Preuß, *Die Vorstellung vom Antichrist im späten Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie Luthers und zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit* (Leipzig, 1906), 18, note 1.

[18]. Except in the middle Swedish version, the *Konung Alexander. En medeltids dikt från Latinet vänd i Svenska rim, omkring år 1380*, by Bo Jonsson Grip, ed. G.E. Klemming (Stockholm 1862). Concerning the German versions of the Alexander cycle, see "Zu deutschen Alexandergeschichten" in: *Kleinere Schriften zum Alexanderroman* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976), 228-253, 246; *Der Alexanderroman* (Ps.-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri magni de preliis*), trans. Friedrich Pfister (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978; =Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 92), 137.

In his ground-breaking work of 1943, *The Devil and the Jews*, Joshua Trachtenberg identified the Red Jews as Gog and Magog, the apocalyptic nations enclosed by Alexander, believed throughout the Middle Ages to be identical with the Ten Tribes of Israel, who were to break out and attack Christendom at the time of the Antichrist. Although Trachtenberg recognized the appellation as a standard name for this imaginary people, the evil servants of the Antichrist, he mentioned only one late sixteenth-century source.[9]

In 1930, Andrew Runni Anderson noted the traditionally negative associations of red hair, and cited a few of the medieval and early modern works in which the term Red Jews appears, but offered neither a comprehensive overview, nor any attempt at serious analysis. Anderson's casual manner gives the impression that this story is merely a degenerate version of the accounts contained in Latin works by learned authors.[10] The numerous vernacular medieval and early modern sources featuring the Red Jews which I have found and collected offer strong proof that far from being a degenerate version of learned exegesis, the legend of the Red Jews was a vibrant

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[9]. Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews. The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), 39-40. The source Trachtenberg cites is the 1596 pamphlet; see Appendix A, number 21, a and b.

[10]. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 72-74.

element of popular religion and popular culture that affected high theology as strongly as it was itself influenced by learned authorities.

In a booklet published privately in 1900, Heinrich Loewe discussed the Jews of the Caucasus area in the light of modern knowledge and of a German pamphlet printed in 1596, apparently the only one of the sixteenth-century series of pamphlets concerning the Red Jews with which he was familiar.[11] Concerning the history of the Jews in the Caucasus, he complains, we are dependent on legend and conjecture. When we simply have no clue,

> "the Ten Lost Tribes are pressed into service as the easiest means for ignoramuses to spout learned speculations. This does not belong to the realm of legend, but to that of everyday stupidity! The same goes for the search for Gog and Magog".[12]

Loewe mentions the inclusion of warlike Jews in the Caucasus Mountains by Alexander the Great and associations with the Tatars. He notes "one can even hear a soft echo of the waves breaking in the Sambation."[13] There is no sense attacking

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[11]. *Zur Kunde von den Juden im Kaukasus aus zwei alten deutschen Zeitungen* (Charlottenberg, 1900).

[12]."Ueberall da, wo wir im Unklaren sind, stellen sich sofort die verlorenen zehn Stämme als das bequemeste Mittel für gelehrte Vermutungen von Ignoranten ein. Das soll man nicht zur Sagenbildung rechnen, sondern zu den konventionellen Dummheiten! Ebendahin gehört die Suche nach Gog und Magog." Loewe, *Juden im Kaukasus*, 11.

[13]. Loewe, *Juden im Kaukasus*, 11.

Loewe for his critical approach. The student of medieval culture must look beyond his flat dismissal of traditional legends that were, in their time, authoritative renderings of received, revealed truth. Loewe did not know the textual tradition of the Red Jews. He was interested in the history of the Jews, not in the history of popular Christian belief. However, the pamphlet he saved from oblivion features the Red Jews prominently.

Ludwig Geiger noted, in 1888, the existence of these same 1596 pamphlets and their relation to Christian awareness of the Jewish tradition of messianic hopes concerning the Ten Tribes.[34] He reproduces a few stanzas of this rhymed chronicle, commenting that the poet 'indulges in the most fantastical exaggeration' by placing the king of the Red Jews at the head of 900,000 men.[35]

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[34]. "Die Juden und die deutsche Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts", in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1888), 308-372; esp. 363-365; also additions and corrections in the 1889 volume, 295-298. Loewe may well have been alerted to these pamphlets by Geiger's comments.

[35]. "Der Liederdichter, der ausdrücklich bemerkt, daß sein Bericht "wahr und nicht erlogen sei", gefällt sich in der abenteuerlichsten Übertreibung: er läßt den König an der Spitze von 900,000 Mann stehen." Geiger, "Die Juden und die deutsche Literatur", 364. The numbers are traditional, not fantastical; cf. Victor von Carben's *Judenbüchlein*, Appendix A, number 12, which comments on reports of 600,000 Red Jews waiting to attack Christendom: this number from Exodus 12,38 denotes the number of men (not including women and children) who set out from Egypt. Furthermore, Geiger misinterprets an important line of the poem: "Gott woll den Türcken widerstandt thun / mit den rothen Juden zu spot und hon." (see Appendix A,

The leading nineteenth-century lexicographer Matthias Lexer came across the term in a fifteenth-century chronicle. Since it appeared in a military context, he decided that "rott" meant not red but pack, troop -- which seems less than likely, as the cruel and warlike Jews thus described ("rott Juden") match perfectly the venerable and well-known image of the Red Jews.[6] In 1863, the great *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* of Benecke, Müller and Zarncke noted one example of the term "rotte juden",[7] also offering no explanation apart

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number 21(a), fol. 4, lines 6-7) as meaning the poet wished the Turks luck in defending themselves against the Red Jews; in fact, the Red Jews are allies of Christendom and God's scourge, whose function is to put the Turks to shame and humiliate them.

[6]. Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig 1876/reprint Stuttgart 1979), vol.II, col. 504. The text is printed as the "Chronik des Burkhard Zink (1368-1468)" in: *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 5 (Leipzig 1866; = Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte, Augsburg, vol. II). See Appendix A for the relevant passage and a translation. Five hundred troops of Jews would mean many thousands of Jews under arms. This seems, especially for fifteenth-century France, quite impossible. The tradition of the Red Jews would be applied to other peoples (e.g., the Tatars, by Luther) in the next century: perhaps these soldiers were from the east, of some 'exotic' race. Their number, 500, fits well with the number of Armagnacs (1,000), with whom they are compared and matched for evil and cruelty -- another reason to think of the Red Jews. Finally, the reduplication of consonants even after long vowels (graff) and the elision of endings was common practice, not peculiar to this text; the form "rott-" for red (rot) is found in the next text cited.

[7]. G.F. Benecke, W. Müller, F. Zarncke; vol. II, first division (G-M) (Hildesheim, 1986 [Leipzig, 1863]), 769. The reference is to the Zurich *Jahrbuch* edited by Ludwig Ettmüller

from a reference to the great medievalist Wilhelm Wackernagel, who, in 1848, writing on the topic of medieval German literature, referred to "the oft-mentioned Red Jews".[28] But Wackernagel himself declined to offer any explanation. The term was generally unclear at that time, as shown by the contemporary comments of Ludwig Ettmüller, the editor of two fascinating Zurich *Jahrbücher* of the fourteenth century.[29] In one of these year-books, the Black Death is blamed on the Jews, who are accused, as elsewhere, of poisoning the wells and streams. The poison itself, however, is said to have come from none other than the Red Jews.[30] Ettmüller admits he does

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(see ch. IV and Appendix A, no. 9).

[28]. *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur. Ein Handbuch* (Basel, 1848), part IV, 128-129: W. compares the term "Rotwelsch" (literally, 'red Latinic (language)'; i.e., thieves' cant; see chapter IV) with the term "Red Jews" in note 4 on page 129: "... den Namen *rôtwalsch* hat im Sinn einer betrüglichen Rede schon das alte Passional 221,22: er mag in Beziehung stehn auf die öfters erwaehnten *rôten Juden*."

[29]. *Die beiden ältesten deutschen Jahrbücher der Stadt Zürich*, ed. Ludwig Ettmüller (Zürich, 1844; = Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, II), 35-96.

[30]. See Appendix A for text and translation; see chapter 3 for discussion. At the end of his foreword, Müller attempts to explain the rather less usual expressions in his text, writing: "from the red (*rotten*) Jews: from the rotten Jews? I do not understand the expression; this does not mean soldier-Jews or fiddler-Jews. Perhaps one ought to read: from the rats to the Jews." ("von den rotten juden -- von den verrotten (verrocteten) verfaulten Juden? ich verstehe den Ausdruck nicht; an rottenjuden, Geigejuden ist nicht zu denken. Vielleicht ist zu lesen: von den ratten den juden." Ettmüller, *Jahrbücher*, 39). This last suggestion supposes a more sophisticated knowledge of plague transmission (via rats) than

not understand the term. He tries to make sense of it by substituting unlikely variant readings, so keen is he to avoid having to deal with the clear statement that the poison came from 'Red Jews', about which he knows nothing. As early as 1835, one of the authors of a catalogue of books in the ducal library at Gotha threw in the investigative towel and concluded "concerning the appellation red Jews, I am eager to hear from connaisseurs of the medieval fable."[1] While confessing ignorance, he pointed in the right direction. Unfortunately, the Red Jews have failed ever since to catch the attention of most historians.

Nowhere have the Red Jews been accorded more than a page or two, despite the acknowedgment by Joshua Trachtenberg and leading historians of literature that the Red Jews played a major role in late medieval and early modern apocalyptic belief. More often, scholars have stumbled over the name and

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was available in the fourteenth century, despite the clear knowledge concerning transmission between humans exhibited in this entry. Furthermore, there is no reason to read the well-established expression "rote Juden", written here with a double "t", as something else, such as "verrotteten", which requires the reader either to exercise considerable fantasy, or to change a vowel and supply a putative demonstrative pronoun: "ratten [den]".

[1]. "... über den Beinamen der roten Juden erwarte ich Belehrung von Kennern der mittelzeitigen Fabelwelt." Friedrich Jacobs and G.H.A. Ukert, "Xylographische Werke: Der Endkrist", in: *Beiträge zur älteren Litteratur, oder: Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Leipzig, 1835), vol. 1, Heft 1, II/6, 114-122; 120-121, note 7.

looked for alternative readings or meanings to explain away this unpasteurized piece of raw medievalia. Historical scholarship has always had difficulty dealing with 'imaginary' phenomena that must seem unreal, improbable or irrational to the modern observer, but which are real, guaranteed by authority and by reason to members of another culture -- the historical study of witchcraft, for example, has just recently broken through that barrier. The 'imaginary' is a category of ours, not of the sources.

3. Historiographical Considerations

The history of ideas has lost much of its luster in the face of sophisticated challenges posed by social history, the *Annales* school, and more recently, the use of literary and anthropological methods as investigative tools for the study of the past. The history of ruling élites and the history of their ideas have become fields among many others. Nonetheless, ideas cultivated, exchanged and written down by an intellectual or social élite are generally more likely to have survived to the present day, and thus to form the object of scholarly research, than are ideas that circulated, however widely and generally, among that part of the European population that has often appeared, to later observers, to constitute the bulk of the historical iceberg that lurks beneath a small but at least visible peak.

Icebergs have the nasty habit of turning over unexpectedly. Explorers on or too near the peak are in danger of being drowned, or at least swamped, by the uncovering of hitherto invisible regions. Critical scholars have spent the last four or five decades working steadily to overturn the seemingly frozen giant composed of the traditionally important ideas and their history. The most useful result of their critique is the realization that ideas are social as well as intellectual constructs and cannot be detached from the circumstances of their production.

The objection of social historians that the traditional history of ideas is nothing but the history of the ruling élites of Europe must be taken seriously. People belonging to other groups also had ideas, held certain things to be true, articulated arguments and narratives based on their beliefs, and even left lasting records of their intellectual and spiritual activities.

The uncovering and exploration of the 'submerged' portion of the historical mass has become a central interest of historians interested in popular culture, social history and the study of minorities and non-dominant groups. The sources traditionally favored by the historian have proven unequal to the task -- or rather, hitherto neglected types of sources are being tapped to furnish evidence not otherwise available. This study privileges material from vernacular exegetical, literary

and documentary texts as access routes to the ideas and beliefs of a section of the population larger than the group who wrote and read 'high theology' and Latin exegetical and historical literature. The courtly vernacular literature of the high Middle Ages, in which the Red Jews make their public debut, was hardly 'popular culture'; however, it was not latinate, and above all it did foreshadow, prepare and influence the developing vernacular genres that would address an ever larger secular audience in the later medieval and early-modern period.

The view-point of the Latin authorities (the 'canon') on the topics dealt with here (Jews and the End Time, the Antichrist, etc.) has been adduced in most cases in order to provide points of reference. The similarities and differences thus uncovered provide systematic insights into the ideas, beliefs and comparable cultural constructs articulated in vernacular texts, from the élite poetry of the medieval German nobility to the sensational news pamphlets of the late sixteenth century.

The world of ideas that belonged to the non-Latinate during the later Middle Ages and early modern period are as 'important' (worthy of study), and generally just as

interesting, as the ideas held by intellectual élites [12] The ideas current among those whose voice is not heard in the traditional (usually Latin) sources are not necessarily the same as the ideas of intellectual élites; they may be variations on the latter, or they may have an entirely independent history and existence. If all ideas have a history, then the history of popular conceptions and beliefs concerning, say, the Trinity or the end of time is as necessary to a complete understanding of religion during a given period as is the history of these ideas in 'high theology', even though some quite influential voices have been raised against this distinction.[13] Respect for the ideas and

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[12]. Cf. the parallel conviction expressed by Natalie Davis that religion ought not to be treated as belonging to "approved" (orthodox, rational) and "disapproved" (superstitious) categories, since all religious behaviour provides groups and individuals with "some sense of the ordering of their world, some explanation for baffling events or injustice, and some notion of who and where they are." "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion", in: *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, eds. Charles Trinkaus, Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 307-312.

[13]. This debate leads far beyond the scope of my discussion. 'Learned' and 'popular' culture have been divorced, remarried and separated in an endless cycle that reflects current ideological priorites more than historical realities. John Van Engen has demonstrated how prevalent the 'two-tiered' model of medieval religion defended by the French historians associated with Jacques LeGoff remains in modern historical writing: "The Christian Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem", in: *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 519-552. In his classic study *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), Peter Brown argues

piety of non-dominant groups, however, does not in all cases necessitate a blurring of borders. If the sources justify differentiation between different intellectual or social levels, it must be made. Exegetical, literary and documentary sources written in the vernacular provide a range of evidence that is heterogeneous in genre, but often internally compatible on the basis of shared ideas, traditions and

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convincingly that there was no social or intellectual discontinuity in the cult of the saints bewteen learned and unlearned, cleric and lay. Yet medieval piety, articulated as it was through a vast and deeply-rooted network of religious institutions and enduring popular beliefs, presents a very different historical profile to the modern researcher than does the history of ideas and the concomitant (but harder to reach) history of popular ideas and beliefs. Popular beliefs are not coterminous with the practice of popular piety; beliefs enter into contact with the world of ideas and thought, which is governed but by no means monopolized -- both in the sources, and we may assume, in real life -- by intellectual elites. Religion functions not merely in the narrowly-defined and practical sphere of 'piety', but in many different contexts that can be studied in myriad ways. Cf. Steven Ozment's argument that in the call for a social history of the Reformation, such historians as Robert Scribner have placed social motives ahead of religious ones as determining factors in the Protestant Reformation, and have thus made "social context" "a kind of magical key to human behaviour." Ozment concludes that "'the social history of the Reformation' is a subject that cannot be adequately treated in terms of class structure, political power and economic self-interest"; consideration of religious motives ought to lead us to "drop altogether the misleading contrast between history from above and history from below", and to stay close to the historical sources. Ozment, "The Social History of the Reformation: What can we learn from Pamphlets?", in: *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit*. Beiträge zum Tübinger Symposium, 1980, ed. Hans-Joachim Köhler (Stuttgart, 1981; = Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit, 13), 171-203; 176 and 202-203. However, when the sources themselves point to such divisions, which Ozment labels "modern", we have no choice but to listen.

interpretations. This study combines the testimony of widely-differing textual types in an historical enterprise that regards all the evidence available -- literary, exegetical, documentary -- as essential for the reconstruction of lost cultural contexts, forgotten messages and submerged ideas and beliefs.

The history of an idea cannot always be connected intimately with specific people or social groups, at least not in a continuous fashion, yet this is precisely what is needed to respond to the challenges posed by new methods and new priorities: a social history of ideas over the *longue durée* -- a concept here employed without a declaration of loyalty to the quantitative method which the *Annales* school applies even to the tracing of pious practice and attitudes. The 'social history of ideas' requires not merely the examination of the social matrix in which various ideas were formed and reproduced, but also, and perhaps more importantly, attention to the broad range of ideas held by differing social groups; such 'ideas' are heterogeneous enough to demand a broader definition, covering what we would call beliefs, fears, 'superstitions' and prophecy. The present study is concerned not with statistics and curves, but rather with long-term changes that can be discerned only through the medium of what Robert Darnton calls 'cultural objects'. These,

"...unlike the price series of economics, the vital

> statistics of demography, and the (more problematic) professional categories in social history [...] are not manufactured by the historian but by the people he studies. They give off meaning. They need to be read, not counted."[14]

In reading these 'cultural objects', one ought to bear in mind Darnton's warning against histories of culture that start with the social setting of a character or a phenomenon: cultural phenomena are not produced mechanically by social factors.[15] Such factors cannot, however, be ignored.

The evidence adduced in this study calls for a synthesis of the long-term and the purely contextual approaches: the Latin Biblical scholarship of the twelfth century bequeathed to vernacular textual traditions the main elements of what was to become a medieval legend in the realm of popular belief (the Red Jews); this legend was itself 'received' and re-

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[14]. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 257. Darnton has furnished the best concise criticism of the application of quantitative methods to what Pierre Chaunu calls the 'third level'. This is the sphere of culture, which 'somehow derives' from the first two levels, namely economics and demography, and which the *Annalistes* claim to be able to understand via the same means as the first two: statistical analysis, the play of structure and conjuncture, and considerations of long-term change rather than events (257ff.).

[15]. Darnton, *Cat Massacre*, 258-259. Here Darnton expresses more elegantly the same concern articulated by Ozment, namely that social context does not produce directly religious (or rather, cultural) phenomena. In most cases, historians of the Middle Ages have better access to the cultural phenomenon (through texts) than they do to the social context that probably influenced, but might or might not have 'produced' the outward manifestation.

interpreted in the printed propaganda of the later fifteenth century and the Reformation era. As the 'social setting' in which the legend appears and reappears changes, the uses to which the legend itself is put change correspondingly, and so does the legend -- though there are certain constant, central traits that make it possible to track the legend over time and to speak of it as a popular tradition.

An investigation of the history of an idea or a belief over the long term requires sources that report a continuous or at least a continuing tradition over an extended period. The idea of transsubstantiation, for example, can be traced from its earliest origins[6] through its affirmation at the Fourth Lateran Council, its careful elaboration in the works of the schoolmen and commentators of the high and late Middle Ages and its transformation in the sacramentarian controversies of the Reformation in a more or less continuous tradition of texts written, to be sure, by members of an educated élite for a similar audience. Yet even here, in the realm of natural and divine philosophy, not only theologians, but all members of Christian -- and Jewish -- society were involved and affected by controversies concerning

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[6]. According to the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1930), transsubstantiation is already present as an idea (though not as a term) in the work of Ignatius (c. 35-c. 107 C.E.), bishop of Antioch: Vol. 15, part 1, cols. 1396-1406, esp. 1396-1397.

transsubstantiation, from the dukes and princes who were to take sides during the Reformation, through the 'common man'[37] and the most humble and poorest folk, to Jews accused of desecrating the consecrated Host.[38] Even the most high-flown and complex ideas of the schoolmen would be appropriated, evaluated and accepted, rejected or modified by the increasingly large groups of people who began to read theological works when the vernacular pamphlet started to function as a weapon in theological debate in the sixteenth century.[39]

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[37]. See Peter Blickle, *Gemeindereformation. Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Weg zum Heil* (Munich, 1985), esp. 17-21.

[38]. Viz. stories of host desecration, the existence of which assumes a Jewish belief in the sacral character of the consecrated Host. Belief in a sinister Jewish 'participation' in the transformed host lasted well into the twentieth century. See, for example, the slanderous article of P. Browe, S.J., "Die Hostienschändungen der Juden im Mittelalter", in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 34 (1926), 167-197. For a short discussion of how accusations of host desecration related to accusations of ritual murder, see R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder. Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), e.g, the Passau Host Desecration Trial of 1478, 50-54, and *passim*.

[39]. See Hans-Joachim Köhler, "The Flugschriften and their Importance in Religious Debate: A Quantitative Approach", in: In: *'Astrologi Hallucinati'. Stars and the End of the World in Luther's Time*, ed. Paola Zambelli (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1986), 153-175. It is worth noting that the popular pamphlet of the early sixteenth century, like the legend at the heart of this study, was a German phenomenon (including the Netherlands; see the rich collection of pamphlets at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague) that had no counterpart in France, Italy or England -- perhaps due to the political

Historians of ideas still have not addressed the problems posed, concerning both sources and methodology, by the history of ideas among the 'common people', or even among those who, in the Middle Ages and early sixteenth century, could not read Latin. Such people (the vast majority) were distinguished from the Latinate masters of the language of erudition and intellectual endeavor as *idiotae*, speakers of an idiom or vernacular language. These *illiterati* (people ignorant of Latin letters) were defined intellectually by the limits of their idiom and by the type and 'quality' of reading materials available to them. Yet they necessarily thought, and therefore had ideas; they believed, so they must have had beliefs. In the later Middle Ages and Reformation era, Latinate élites usually could read and write their vernacular; most but certainly not all *illiterati* were illiterate. The barrier was porous in both directions, and the non-Latinate were not necessarily ignorant -- they simply lacked access to many 'original sources', and received certain kinds of information through the filter of translations, summaries, and -- probably -- oral recounting in the vernacular.[40] This is the sort of

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fragmentation of the Empire, which made it difficult to ban or confiscate works that could not have circulated elsewhere.

[40]. On overlap between oral and written discourse based on South Pacific examples, see Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality. Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), esp. 110-122.

'filtered' access to high theology and natural science which the miller Menocchio had, according to Carlo Ginzburg[11] -- and which most undergraduates today have to the western textual tradition, despite the best efforts of careful translators to bridge the gulf that continues to grow between 'now' and 'then'.

Moreover, the common folk had ideas of their own, ideas that cannot be got at -- at least not directly -- by reading scholastic *summae* or the theological pamphlets of a Martin Luther or an Ulrich Zwingli, however influential these were. Only when these representatives of 'high culture' (who were themselves rooted -- to some extent -- in the culture of the people) comment on or criticize the beliefs of the *illiterati* are such writings of immediate use to the historian of popular culture. Fortunately, other revealing sources are available to the scholar interested in the mental world of the common people in medieval and early modern Europe. Admittedly, the most fertile sources conceivable, letters and diaries of peasants, artisans, burgher-merchants and guildsmen, are not available in any large number, have not been preserved, or never existed. Yet many texts produced for the readers and hearers of vernacular works in this period offer a window, or

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[11]. *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1980).

rather a periscope, through which we can garner glimpses of what the common folk (though perhaps not the peasantry and day-laborers[42]) thought about the Immaculate Conception, the Last Days, or any number of other topics.[43]

We would make a grave error if we were to continue to ignore the unbroken and unbreakable links between 'high' and 'low' culture. Anthropological methods for discerning what the broad masses believed in early modern times cannot but fall short of the mark if they overlook the genealogical connections between medieval popular belief and treatments of the same themes in Latin theological and exegetical works, in vernacular exegesis, or in courtly and everyday vernacular literature.[44] Influence runs both from 'high' to 'low' and

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[42]. Darnton argues that one of the very few ways to get at how peasants thought and what they thought in ancien régime France is to study the written record of oral folklore: "folktales ... are the richest source at our disposal if we want to make contact with the mental world of peasants in the past"; *Cat Massacre*, 261. Unfortunately, for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we have almost no access to this sort of material. Even the most 'popular' printed material was bought primarily by more prosperous groups.

[43]. See, for example, the use made of Stephen of Bourbon's penitential handbook for confessors by Jean-Claude Schmitt in his book *The Holy Greyhound. Guinefort, healer of children since the thirteenth century*, trans. Martin Thom (Cambridge, at the University Press/Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1983).

[44]. This is the main criticism to be levelled against the otherwise excellent and path-breaking work of Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture. Problems of belief and perception*, trans. János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge, at the University Press/Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences

vice-versa, and we cannot afford to ignore cross-overs that shed light on cultural dynamics that are otherwise inaccessible.

Although Carlo Ginzburg has been criticized for supposed intellectual 'short-circuits' in his reporting of Menocchio's intellectual world -- the ideas of this miller about theology and the natural world as filtered by his intellectual universe and limited but eclectic reading --, Ginzburg has made a beginning toward ascertaining ways and means for the necessarily cautious examination of ideas among the common folk via documents produced by members of a ruling and powerful élite -- in this case, inquisitorial trial protocols. The inquisitors cast Menocchio's ideas in terms familiar to themselves, terms taken from their reading and understanding of the world, theology, and the Bible; yet we are allowed a certain access to Menocchio's intellectual universe through the documentary artifacts produced incidental to the inquisitors' own 'filtering'. Such filtering, we will see, characterized both medieval reception of biblical material and sixteenth-century interpretations of current political events, which were often understood and formulated in terms of medieval legend.

Our own ability to acquire such information is subject to

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de l'Homme, 1988).

filtration: literary sources, especially those belonging to the more formal, artistic genres, reproduce and distort ideas in often-disputed but nonetheless traditional ways;[45] they also allow glimpses into the intellectual world of contemporary readers and listeners via the ideas communicated to them -- some of which were new, some of which were already known to these readers and were thus confirmed as valuable and lasting. On the other hand, non-literary sources, such as chronicles and most sixteenth-century pamphlets, sometimes offer more direct, less formally encoded information about the ideas and mental constitution of their authors and reading public. Any attempt to reconstruct the mental world or mentality of a past time would do well, therefore, to look to both literary and other, non-fictional or non-literary sources as a kind of 'control group'. These texts must also be 'interrogated' if they are to yield answers useful to the historian. Origins and context must be examined. However, as Bloch notes, the origin or ancestry of a word -- or of an

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[45]. See, for example, Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) for a critical 'reading' of the hegemonic function of literature as a "strategy of containment". Greenblatt is dependent, however, on literary texts as sources, so it is hardly surprising that he is forced to maintain the privileged status of the literary text "...in part because...great art is an extraordinarily sensitive register of the complex struggles and harmonies of a culture..." (*Ibid.*, 5).

historical phenomenon -- is by no means a causal explanation.[46] Rather, the social conditions of the moment must be considered: a historical phenomenon can hardly be understood apart from its moment in time.[47]

The task at hand is to unravel the range of meanings available to contemporary readers in the diverse but thematically linked texts presented here. This job requires the commentator to dismember texts in order to 'dig out' the component parts of narratives which had in their totality an emotional and psychological impact far beyond that of their individual elements. The risk entailed by analysis is that the immediacy and urgency of such documents as apocalyptic prophecy or news from the battle front can be buried under a landslide of facts and dates. Yet without historical analysis, we cannot approach a contextual understanding of such texts -- including the traditions they drew on and the audience they addressed.

The vernacular literature of medieval Germany is in no danger of being overlooked by scholarship -- legions of university professors both in Germany and the English-speaking world are devoted to its ever more minute and detailed study. History, however, tends to shy away from literary sources as

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[46]. Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. by Peter Putnam (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 33.

[47]. Bloch, *Historian's Craft*, 35.

too formal, too formulaic, too 'fictional'. Recent trends in literary theory have tended to discourage the belief that a modern reader can learn something about the past through the analysis of literary works. The study of the literary text as a self-referential universe is a hermeneutic snipe-hunt that makes literature seem both obsolete and useless. 'Indeterminacy' has replaced 'aesthetic artificiality' or 'fictionality' as the excuse of choice for failing to integrate the study of literature into history, except as a witness to the unpredictable nature of communication and other similarly earth-shattering discoveries.

Vernacular literature has much to contribute to the study of mentality and popular culture in medieval Germany. Certain popular genres outside the mainstream of *Minnesang* and courtly epic have received very little attention from scholars of literature because they are too 'low', not sufficiently artistic or elaborate: popular plays, Historiated Bibles, epic poems, *Volksbücher*, sermons, catechetical works and the like.

Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appear degenerate to the student of *Minnesang*, and medieval to the student of early modern literature -- as does much that survives into the sixteenth century. 'Exegetical' works in the vernacular -- i.e., works that interpret religious or Biblical themes to a lay readership -- appear too simplistic, or even derivative, for

serious study to students of medieval theology, and too religious to students of what modern scholarship is pleased to define as literature -- an artistic pastime seemingly divorced from all other aspects of society.

In general, German-language literature has been dismissed as derivative of foreign, especially Gallic, genres such as *trovaritz*. There is little point in rehearsing the varying points of view, scholarly, spiritual and national that have put their stamp on the study of medieval literature: they get in the way of understanding literature in historical terms and lead to fruitless philosophical and technical wrangles about aesthetics, meter, sources and genres. This study is concerned to gather evidence from vernacular sources literary and otherwise, avoiding overly neat distinctions that belong in the undergraduate lecture-hall (if anywhere).

The culture and beliefs of the later Middle Ages have fallen between the cracks in scholarship. The university habit of dividing disciplines into specialties according to the object of study -- historians study documents, professors of language and literature dissect the 'great' (or politically 'representative') literary texts, anthropologists examine oral cultures -- and the pervasive influence of Burckhardtian periodization still stifles the examination of continuities between medieval and early modern culture.

The frenzied apocalyptic expectations of the fifteenth

and sixteenth centuries, part and parcel of the religious ferment that found its most focused expression in the Protestant Reformation, grew out of and adapted medieval traditions, including that of the Red Jews. These traditions do not simply disappear with the advent of critical historiography and critical interpretation of the Bible. Apocalypticism participates here in a much broader phenomenon, that of late-medieval antisemitism, which was directed at the (remaining) Jews of Europe and Jews in general as religious and secular enemies. The legend of the savage Red Jews provides an important bridge between apocalyptic hopes or fears and the demonization of the Jews as a prelude (and post-mortem) to their murder or expulsion.[*]

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[*]. See Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*; see also Heiko A. Oberman, "The Stubborn Jews. Timing the Escalation of Antisemitism in Late Medieval Europe" concerning the changes that led to the late-medieval preoccupation with the Antichrist and his servants, the blind and stubborn Jews.

II. APOCALYPTICISM AND MESSIANISM: CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH PERSPECTIVES ON THE END IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

From late antiquity to the high Middle Ages, two stories about events to come at the End of Time dominated exegetical and literary discussion of the final things. Among Christians, the epochal event foreseen for the time of tribulation was the descent on Christendom of the destroyers Gog and Magog, prophesied in Ezekiel 38-39 and the Book of Revelation 20,7-8. This final chastisement would precede the Last Judgement and the end of suffering on earth. This prophecy became entangled with literary works that featured a strong prophetic element, and Gog and Magog became inextricably linked with the figure of Alexander the Great. Among Jews, the exile of the ten northern tribes of Israel (II Kings 17,6) and their fabled return (IV Ezra 39-50) to save their dispersed co-religionists from bondage in the Diaspora fuctioned along the lines of traditional messianic hopes. Where Christians feared the advent of Gog and Magog (while also hoping for their speedy appearance, to hurry on the course of salvation-history), the exiled Jews waited for a sign that the Ten Tribes were on the march. Given the striking similarity of these tales (despite their very different origins), it should come as no surprise that they became entangled, even confused, with one another. Christians came to identify the Ten Tribes as Jewish destroyers of Christendom, even as Gog and Magog.

Simultaneously, the Messiah awaited by the Jews would be identified, from very early in the history of Christianity, with the Antichrist, the most common term for the Beast foretold in Revelation 13. The Red Jews were to play a key role in German-language texts, uniting all these disparate and menacing confusions into a Christian conglomerate of apocalyptic and antisemitic anxiety. This fusion reveals essential features of popular Christian perceptions of the Jews in medieval and early modern Europe.

1. The 'Unclean' Peoples and Gog and Magog

At the beginning of the Common Era, Flavius Josephus wrote that Alexander closed with iron gates the mountain pass through which the Scyths might break into the civilized world.[1] In another work, he identifies the Scyths with Magog.[2] However, Anderson feels that this does not mean that by the time of Josephus, the legend of the gate built by Alexander to exclude the 'unclean peoples' had come to mean a gate built to enclose Gog and Magog.[3] He bases his contention on the later

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1. *Jewish Wars*, VII 7.4.

2. *Jewish Antiquities*, I 6.1.

3. Anderson engages Friedrich Pfister in a debate over the origins of the idea that Alexander built his gate, somewhere in the Caucasus ('Caspian Mountains'), to keep Gog and Magog out of the civilized world. To Pfister, this was a Jewish legend of some antiquity, and current at the time of Josephus, as attested to by the various implicit equations of

'divergences of view' concerning the identity of the peoples enclosed by Alexander, which 'would hardly have come into being' had the enclosed peoples been identified as Gog and Magog at the time of Josephus. Pfister, on the other hand, claims that the legend of Alexander's Gate having been built to enclose Gog and Magog was of Jewish origin and came from first-century Alexandria (based on earlier Jewish stories of Alexander as a hero of Jewish history).[4] This argument alone can make sense of the implicit equation made by Josephus. Yet Anderson's arguments concerning details, such as the later date and origin of the Gog-and-Magog episode in *Pseudo-Callisthenes C* (iii,26), refute much of Pfister's case. This is not the proper venue to take sides. The careful scholarship of Anderson and Pfister, who devoted decades to the specific study of this topic, deserves closer study than can be accorded it here.[5] The point is that at some time before the twelfth century, when the story of 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander' was conflated with the Jewish legend of the Ten

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the Scyths with those enclosed and with Magog: Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 19 and 20, note 1.

[4]. See Anderson's recapitulation, *Alexander's Gate*, 20, note 1; Pfister's article "Gog und Magog", in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ed. H. Bächtold-Stäubli, vol. III (1930), col. 910-918.

[5]. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, deals with Gog and Magog and the literary tradition from the time of Josephus on in his first two chapters, 3-14 and 15-57.

Tribes, Alexander was credited with having enclosed Gog and Magog behind the gate he is said to have built in the Caucasus.[9]

The Alexander legend of later antiquity, based broadly on Josephus' recounting, tells how Alexander, marching eastward, came upon wild peoples (*feras gentes*) or unclean peoples (*immundas gentes*), who ate human flesh and had other equally vile customs. To keep them from destroying the rest of the world, Alexander drove them between two mountains, then asked God to push the two mountains together and imprison them. This story found its way not only into later versions of the Alexander legend, but also into the Qur'an and the influential Greek *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius, which date

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9. Another topic that has greatly exercized scholars is the precise location of this gate. The literature is immense: see, for example, Richard Hennig, "Sallam der Dolmetscher an der 'Gog und Magog-Mauer' (um 845)", in: *Terrae Incognitae* II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1950), 169-185, and Michael Jan de Goeje, "De muur van Gog en Magog", in: *Verslagen den Mededeelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschapen, Letterkunde*, 3. Reeks [series], Deel [part] 5 (1888), 87-124.

10. "Alexander der Große in der Sage", in: Friedrich Pfister, *Kleinere Schriften zum Alexanderroman*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1976, 10-11; Qur'an, Sura 18; via Jacob of Sarug's Syriac Alexander Song. See "The Syrian Christian Legend Concerning Alexander", translated by E.A. Wallis Budge, in his *The History of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1881), 144-158; excerpted by McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 56.

from the end of the seventh century.[9] Around 700 C.E., this latter text was translated into Latin by the monk Peter, of Merovingian Gaul, and very widely disseminated in the west, where it was a standard of Christian apocalypticism.[10] In this version, the unclean peoples originally thought to have been enclosed by Alexander were identified with Gog and Magog, the apocalyptic destroyers of Ezekiel 38-39 and Revelation 20,8.[11] The *Revelationes* enjoyed an uninterrupted popularity; they

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[9]. Anderson cites Ernst Sackur to the effect that during the Middle Ages, the influence of Pseudo-Methodius was second only to that of the Canon and the church fathers. The reason was that "as Christendom was threatened by each new peril in the later centuries of the middle ages -- the Mongol invasions and the westward advance of the Turks even to the walls of Vienna -- Christendom in its direst need and darkest hour found in *Pseudo-Methodius* not only hope but even assurance of final victory." Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 49. To Bernard McGinn, the *Revelations* were, after the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of John, one of the most influential and widespread of medieval apocalyptic texts: *Visions of the End*, 70, citing D. Verhelst, "La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist", in: *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 40 (1973), 52-103. Verhelst has counted 190 mss. of the Latin version alone, of which 21 are anterior to the twelfth century (95). On the Syrian origins of the text see Michael Kmosko, "Das Ratsel des Pseudomethodius," in: *Byzantium* (1931), 282-91, and Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), 46-47, 56.

[10]. Friedrich Pfister, "Alexander der Große in der Sage", in: *Kleinere Schriften*, 1-35; 10. Pfister notes that the enclosure of Gog and Magog is the most important and best-known of the Alexander stories. The standard edition of the Pseudo-Callisthenes' Alexander novel is that of Ernst Sackur in his *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*.

[11]. The history of transmission has been carefully traced by Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 15-57, and by George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 9-68; for the Middle Ages, see Cary and D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*.

were printed in numerous editions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Gog and Magog were, in all these versions, enclosed only temporarily: at the end of time, God would allow them to escape from their prison and devastate Christendom. The *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius also prophesied that the Antichrist would deceive and gather in the scattered Jews to Jerusalem, where they would serve him as their Messiah, a vilification easily recognizable as a hostile reading of the apocryphal fourth book of Ezra. This element is based on the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl, and would prove to be most prophetic indeed for the medieval development of the story of Gog and Magog: here is where apocalypticism meets antisemitism.

The *Historia de preliis magni Alexandri* started out with the title *Nativitas et victoria Alexandri Magni*. This was a tenth-century Latin translation, by the Archpresbyter Leo of Naples, of the Greek Alexander romance by the Pseudo-Callisthenes; it proved very popular in Latin and in numerous vernacular translations, and was printed early on as the *Historia de preliis Alexandri magni*.[1] The later, interpolated

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[1]. There are three different recensions, and over forty-five known manuscripts survive. Some twenty works in Latin, Italian, German, Czech, Polish, Magyar, Russian, Middle English and perhaps Hebrew are based on it: Hoyt Duggan and Thorlac Thurville-Petre, eds., *The Wars of Alexander* (Oxford, at the University Press, 1989), xiii. The most recent critical translation into a modern language is the German edition by Friedrich Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman* mit einer Auswahl aus

versions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially I[3] (between 1185 and 1236), describe the enclosure of Gog and Magog by Alexander to protect the world from these savage nations. This story was a 'best-seller' throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern era; it was printed in numerous versions, both Latin and vernacular.

Not only did versions of these 'canonical' texts continue to circulate until well past the Reformation, the stories they contained seeped into all manner of medieval exegetical and literary works. Gog and Magog became a *topos* of salvation-history.[12]

2. The Ten Tribes

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den verwandten Texten (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978); esp. 134-137 and 188. Pfister is by far the most prolific scholar on this topic; he has also written a definitive study of the Alexander story in late medieval German letters: "Studien zu spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Alexandergeschichten", in: *Kleinere Schriften*, 228-253; orig. in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 79 (1942), 114-132, and "Alexander der Große in den Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen", in *Kleinere Schriften*, 301-347; orig. in the series Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1956).

[12]. For a selection of texts, starting with the 'originals' and moving through their reception in medieval Germany, see Appendix B.

The story of the ten lost tribes[13] is based on the

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[13]. The most complete scholarly accounting of the story of the Ten Lost Tribes in Jewish sources, thought and belief was furnished just over one hundred years ago by Adolf Neubauer in his monumental and deceptively-titled series of articles "Where are the Ten Tribes?" The possible survival of the Ten Tribes in the east or Far East has exercized the imagination of Christians and Jews alike since time immemorial. The search has often been motivated by religious and political goals. See, for example, Richard H. Popkin, "The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Indian Theory" in: *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World*, ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan and Richard H. Popkin (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 63-82. Based on the tale that the aboriginal inhabitants of the Amazon basin were Jewish and therefore descendants of the Ten Tribes, Menasseh Ben Israel hoped to persuade Oliver Cromwell that the re-admission of the Jews to England would help spread Jewry to all corners of the earth and therefore speed the coming of the Messiah. For the text of his *Hope of Israel* and the pamphlets written to persuade Cromwell, see *Menasseh Ben-Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell. Being a reprint of the Pamphlets published by Menasseh Ben-Israel to promote the Re-Admission of the Jews to England*, ed. Lucien Wolf (London: Macmillan, 1901). For a thorough and learned discussion of the possible descendants of the Ten Tribes (i.e., the Asiatic Jewish communities of the 'Assyrian dispersion'), see the classic work by the former president of Israel, Itzhak Ben-Zvi, *The Exiled and the Redeemed*, trans. Isaac A. Abbady (Philadephia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961). In 1851, J. Wichelshaus published a learned but rather naive and inconclusive study concerning the possible geographical dispersion of the Ten Tribes: "Das Exil der zehn Stämme Israels", in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgen-ländischen Gesellschaft* 5 (Leipzig 1851), 467-482. For a review of the less likely claimants to descent from the Ten Tribes (e.g., the Japanese Judaizers), see Tudor Parfitt's highly readable *The Thirteenth Gate. Travels among the Lost Tribes of Israel* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987). Shalva Weil has put together an admirable, though impressionistic, overview in her exhibition catalogue *Beyond the Sambatyon: The Myth of the Ten Lost Tribes* (Tel Aviv: Beth Hatefutsoth, The Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, 1991). See also Allen H. Godbey, *The Lost Tribes A Myth - Suggestions Towards Rewriting Hebrew History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1930), esp. ch. 1, for a very earnest, rationalistic, yet curiously incomplete debunking of the Lost Tribes myth. Godbey turns his attention to all the Jewish communities of the Diaspora and many communities falsely said

Biblical account of the Ten Tribes of Israel led into captivity in the east by the king of Assyria, Salmanassar (II Kings 17). The apocryphal fourth book of Ezra (end of the first century CE) relates the exile of the Ten Tribes and their future return to serve the Messiah on Mount Zion. They are beyond the Euphrates, the flow of which God stopped in order to let them cross. When God wills it, he will stop the flow of the river once again, when it comes time for the Ten Tribes to return.[4] Josephus refers to "ten tribes beyond the Euphrates, countless myriads whose numbers cannot be ascertained".[5] There is a great deal of speculation as to the whereabouts of these tribes in the Mishnah, the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud.[6] According to some, the exiled Ten Tribes eventually disappeared because they were

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to be of Jewish origin, but to none of the older stories concerning the Ten Tribes.

[4]. IV Ezra 13.39-50. See E. Kautzsch, trans. and ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, vol. II, (Tübingen 1900), 397; see also Michael E. Stone, *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989; =Harvard Semitic Studies, 35), 120 and *passim*.

[5]. *Antiquities* 11, ch. 5.2. Josephus also refers to Sabbatic river, though in his account it is dry for six days and runs on the Sabbath, and has not yet been associated with the ten tribes.

[6]. See Israel Lévi, "La légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch" in: *Revue d'Etudes Juives* 7 (1883), 78-93. Lévi points out that the place the Ten Tribes were said to be was often called Africa, which, however, over time came to mean "des régions mystérieuses de l'Asie" (3).

sinful and assimilated with gentiles.[17]

In the context of the Bar Kochba rebellion (132-135 CE),

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[17]. Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbat* 147b; *The Babylonian Talmud*, Seder Mo'ed, "Shabbath", ed. Rabbi Isidore Epstein, trans. H. Freedman, vol. II (London: The Soncino Press, 1938), 750: "R. Helbo said: The wine of Perugitha [a place in northern Israel famous for its wine] and the water of Diomsith cut off the Ten Tribes from Israel." [translator's note: They were so much pre-occupied with these pleasures that they neglected learning and lost faith, which ultimately led to their exile and disappearance.]; see also *Numbers Rabbah* 9,7. The discussion in Yebamoth, however, which concerns degrees of 'tainted descent' and the status of Jews of mixed descent before the law, takes a very different line: *The Babylonian Talmud*, Seder Nashim, "Yebamoth", ed. Rabbi Isidore Epstein, trans. Rev. Israel W. Slotki, vol. I (London: The Soncino Press, 1936), 16b, 90-91: "Rab Judah said in the name of R. Assi: If at the present time a heathen betroths [a daughter in Israel], note must be taken of such betrothal since it may be that he is of the ten tribes. [translator's note: Whom Shalmaneser had carried away into captivity (II Kings 18,11) where they intermarried with the heathens. Children born from such marriages are bastards...] [...] R. Abba b. Kahana said: *And he put them in Halah and in Habor, on the river of Gozan, and the cities of the Medes* [II Kings 18,11-12]; *Halah* is Halwan [a locality in Assyria], and Habor is Hadyab [Adiabene, a region in Assyria], *the river Gozan* is Ginzak [Ganzaka, in north-western Persia], *and the cities of the Medes* are Hamdan [Hamadan, capital of Media, a.k.a. Ecbatana] and its neighbouring towns; others say, Nihar [Nahawand, a town south of Ecbatana] and its neighbouring towns. Which are its neighbouring towns? -- Samuel responded: Karak [or *k'rak*, fort], Moshki [a land to the south of Colchis], Hidki [in Assyria] and Dumkia [(the fort of) Rumki in Media].

R. Johanan said: All these were enumerated in order to declare them as being unfit [translator's note: Most of their inhabitants being deemed bastards, since the women had intermarried with the heathens, and their descendants, furthermore, married forbidden relatives.]." The discussion then turns to those descended from 'Israelitish' women, and who are therefore 'fit', and those descended from heathen women, who are not. This discussion seems to provide sufficient cause, if it were sought, for excluding the remnants of the Ten Tribes from Israel, by declaring them to have assimilated with the heathen.

Rabbi Akiba (martyred in 135 C.E.)[18] argued that despite popular hopes, "the Ten Tribes shall not return again".[19] Rabbi Eliezer countered, expressing the majority opinion when he wrote: "Like as days grow dark and then grow light, so also after darkness is fallen upon the Ten Tribes, shall light hereafter shine upon them".[20] The Talmud places the Lost Tribes beyond the river Sambation, which is impassible, though

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[18]. See the excellent and highly readable biography and introduction to the thought of Rabbi Akiba by Louis Finkelstein, *Akiba. Scholar, Saint and Martyr* (New York: Atheneum, 1970/1936).

[19]. Mishnah Sanhedrin 10,3 (110b); *The Babylonian Talmud*, Seder Nezikin "Sanhedrin" II, ed. Rabbi Isidore Epstein, trans. H. Freedman (London: The Soncino Press, 1935), 759: "The Ten Tribes will not return [to Palestine], for it is said, And cast them into another land, as is this day: [Deut. 29,27] Just as the day goes and does not return, so they too went and will not return: This is R. Akiba's view. R. Eliezer said: As this day -- just as the day darkens and then becomes light again, so the Ten Tribes -- even as it went dark for them, so will it become light for them." Shalva Weil argues that "Rabbi Akiba probably held this particular view, which was not the majority view, because he deeply believed that Bar-Kochba was the Messiah. Since Bar-Kochba was clearly unable to fulfil one of the tasks of the Messiah -- the ingathering of all the "lost ones" of Israel for the purposes of Redemption -- Rabbi Akiba apparently sought to eliminate this responsibility with his pronouncement that the Ten Lost Tribes would never return." (*Beyond the Sambatyon*, 92). The Gemara discussion that follows the Mishnah (above) relates various Rabbis' positions concerning the part the Ten Tribes might have in the Messianic age and the hereafter [e.g., they will have a part in the hereafter if they repent], then moves quickly to a more general discussion of who will receive a portion of the world to come and who will not, which is the larger context of the chapter.

[20]. *Idem*.

it ceases to flow on the Sabbath, when Jews cannot cross it.[31] In contrast, Josephus says the Sambation runs dry all week, but flows on the Sabbath.[32] Pliny the Elder, in his Natural History, reports that the Sambation flows during the week and rests on the Sabbath.[33] This Jewish tale was not confined to Jewish sources. It would continue to influence Western thinking about eastern geography and the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes for centuries to come. Jewish belief in the future return of the Ten Tribes -- in spite of the negative verdicts of some Talmudic sages and judges -- would likewise continue uninterrupted for many centuries, exerting a considerable influence on Christian apocalyptic thought and belief.

The story of the Ten Tribes entered the world of geo-politics via the highly popular tale of Eldad the Danite (ha-Dani).[34] This ninth-century account (which enjoyed an

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[31]. *Genesis Rabbah* 73,6: "The tribes of Judah and Benjamin were not exiled to the same place as the Ten Tribes; for the latter were transported beyond the river Sambatyon." (Weil, *Beyond the Sambatyon*, 32)

[32]. *Jewish Wars*, 7, 98-99.

[33]. *Natural History*, 31,24.

[34]. See the English translation by Adolf Neubauer, in his "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 99-104. Neubauer notes that this tale was to become the Arabian Nights of the Jews, and found a large audience in Arabic translation and among Christians in Latin and German translations (99). Neubauer details the Hebrew editions and translations, including the many printed editions, up to the nineteenth century (110-114). The ninth-century diary of the traveller Eldad has been preserved in two versions: a letter of 883 to the Jews of Spain (this letter

uninterrupted vogue among Jewish readers down to the nineteenth century) reported on the very real existence of numerous Jewish communities to the east of the Holy Land. Eldad's narrative interprets these communities as the descendants of the Ten Tribes, who were scattered to the 'East', to Arabia and to Africa. Here ethnography, Talmudic science and biblical tradition form a seamless whole. The Sambation, beyond which the Ten Tribes are exiled, is described as a river of stones and dust that rumbles all week

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was mentioned a century later by Rabbi Hisdai ibn Shaprut in a letter to Joseph, king of the Khazars, a Tatar tribe that converted to Judaism around 740 C.E.; a manuscript version is at Christ Church College Library, Oxford; reproduced by Shalva Weil [*Beyond the Sambatyon*, 13]; Adler [see below] translates the letter and the response from Joseph, and claims they are both authentic), printed in Hebrew in 1480; and in a letter from the rabbis of Qairouan to the Gaon Zemah of Babylonia, asking whether the story could be true (printed at Constantinople in 1519). The Gaon, if his answer is authentic, believed the tale in its entirety: "The belief in Eldad by such an authority as the Gaon, can only be explained by the delight which he and the other Rabbis must have felt on hearing of the prosperous state of the lost tribes, coupled, perhaps, with the hope of a sudden restoration of the Jewish nation." (Neubauer, 108). As we shall see, this belief and this hope were endemic among European Jews in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and lived on in folklore for many centuries thereafter. For a more recent edition of Eldad's story, see Elkan Nathan Adler's translations of Eldad's letter [to the Jews of Spain] and of the 1519 Constantinople print [the letter from the rabbis of Qairouan to the Gaon Zemah] in Adler (ed.), *Jewish Travellers* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930, 4-21; see also his translation of Hisdai ibn Shaprut's letter to the Khazar king, in which Hisdai asks from which of the Lost Tribes the Khazars descend, and the response: from none, but from 'Japhet through his son Togarma': 22-36.

but is still on the Sabbath, when it is walled off by fire[25] or covered by a cloud that prevents anyone from touching it.[26] Eldad also addresses the eschatological dimension concerning the redemption of all Israel: "The Holy One, blessed be he, who made us to know good tidings concerning our brethren, the Ten Tribes, he will gather our scattered ones from the four corners of the earth to the Temple together with all Israel's brethren."[27] Eldad mentions a warlike east African kingdom inhabited by some of the Ten Tribes -- a clear reference to the powerful kingdom of the Falasha. He also refers to the tribes of Simeon and Manasseh, who live near the land of the Khazars,[28] six months' travel north-east of Jerusalem.

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[25]. As in the letter to the Jews of Spain: "The river Sambatyon is 200 yards broad, "About as far as a bowshot" (Gen. 21,16), full of sand and stones, but without water [...] And this river of stone and sand rolls during the six working days and rests on the Sabbath day. As soon as the Sabbath begins, fire surrounds the river, and the flames remain till the next evening, when the Sabbath ends. Thus no human being can reach the river for a distance of half a mile on either side [...]." Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 102; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 14.

[26]. As in the letter to the Gaon Zemah, which places the sons of Dan on the other side of the Sambation: Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 18.

[27]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 104.

[28]. Although the existence of a fabled Jewish kingdom north of the Caucasus and between the Don and the Volga was long denied by Christian commentators for religious reasons, the kingdom of the Khazars certainly did exist. The nomadic Khazars coalesced into a kingdom in the seventh century. Arthur Koestler has argued persuasively that they were instrumental, during the seventh and eighth centuries, in

Ethiopia, 'Azania' [east Africa], Armenia, the Euphrates, the lands of the Medes and Persians, 'the mountains near Mecca' and the land of the Khazars[9] are all inhabited by descendants of the the Ten Tribes and are all located in proximity to each other! This story received wide circulation, and contains many

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stemming the Muslim tide at the Caucasus and preventing the forces of the Caliphate from gaining a foothold in eastern Europe: Arthur Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe. The Khazar Empire and its Heritage* (London: Hutchison & Co., 1976), 13-16. During the course of the eighth century, their rulers and the military elite adopted Judaism, the dominant religion of the neighbouring Caucasian tribes, the Georgians and Armenians (Ben-Zvi, *The Exiled and the Redeemed*, 256-257). Ben-Zvi cites A.N. Poliak's argument that the Khazar kingdom was not destroyed entirely by Svatoslav, Prince of Kiev, during his campaign of 965-969 (when the Khazar capital, Itil, at the mouth of the Don, fell), but survived in contracted form until the Mongol invasions of 1224. (Poliak, *The History of a Jewish Kingdom in Europe* [in Hebrew], Tel Aviv: Mossad Bialik, 1951). D.M. Dunlop's still-useful *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967/Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954) has been supplemented by the highly technical work of Peter B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, 2 vols.), which makes extensive use of the enormous literature on this topic in Hungarian, Russian and Arabic, and by the source editions and translations of Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1982). The tenth-century letter of Hisdai ibn Shaprut, *Nasi* (prince) of the Spanish Jews to Joseph, King of the Khazars, has been discussed above. It is interesting that Hisdai should assume that the Khazars were one of the Ten Tribes, when in fact they were of Turkic stock, and traced their lineage from Japhet. The reputation, and later the memory, of the Khazar kingdom may have contributed to stories of an independent Jewish realm in the east, which both Jews and Christians naturally saw through a biblical filter that made sense of the existence of such Jews only as descendants of the Ten Tribes.

[9]. Variant reading: of the Babylonians; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 3.

of the core elements that would be repeated in later stories of this kind.[30]

Neubauer summarily lists other early medieval references to the exiled Israelites. The Arabic translations of the books of Kings and Chronicles by Saadyah Gaon (died c. 941) have been lost, but certain passages are preserved in the Arabic 'Art of Poetry' by Moses ben Ezra (eleventh century). Saadyah is reported to have said: "And such was the case with the other exiles of Samaria, who went to the lands of Khorasan, for there is not the slightest doubt that Halah, Habor, the river of Gozan, and the cities of the Medes (II Kings 17,6), are to be found in Khorasan. Habor is most probably the river Khaboor (Chaboras of Ptolomey, which is written חבר as well as ראב). All this is well known here." To this Moses ben Ezra adds that in those provinces, there were still 40,000 Jews who paid tribute.[31]

Judah ben Balam (fl.c.1020) follows Saadyah: "in the time of Josiah the tribes were in Khorasan, for Habor is most probably the Chaforas, and the Gozan is to be found near the town of Gazna..." R. Tanhum of Jerusalem (thirteenth century) also relies on Saadyah: "these towns are in the land of

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[30]. See esp. Adolf Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 185-188, for a brief history of this tale between the time of Eldad and the time of Benjamin of Tudela (tenth to twelfth centuries).

[31]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 186.

Khorasan; Gozan is, as it is said, the river of Gazna, and Habor is the Khabur."[32]

Benjamin of Tudela[33] visited the Holy Land, Mesopotamia, Bahrain, Aden, India, Ceylon and perhaps Tibet and China between 1165 and 1173. During his travels he encountered and heard of many Jewish communities in Asia, some numbering, he claims, in the tens and even the hundreds of thousands, which he took to be descended from various tribes of the exiled Israelites. He makes a particular point of noting the quasi-regal honours accorded to the Jewish Exilarch at Baghdad, explaining that the Great Caliph was complying with Mohammed's injunction "to give effect to what is written in the law, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor a law-giver from between his feet' until the Shiloh (Messiah) comes."[34] Neubauer translates another passage from Benjamin's travelogue that

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[32]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 186-187.

[33]. Rabbi Benjamin ben Jonah of Tudela (in Navarre) finished his travels in 1173; he set out in 1165. His travelogue enjoyed widespread popularity both in Hebrew and in translation. The passages concerning the Jewish communities of Asia, supposed by Benjamin to be descended from the Ten Tribes, are reproduced by Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 38-63; and in very abbreviated form by Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 189-192.

[34]. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 48. This important point, a weapon in arguing against the Christian interpretation of Genesis 49,10 (according to which the proof that the Messiah had already come was that the sceptre had departed from Judah, as no Jewish kingdoms were left on earth), is explicit here, but implicit in most other Jewish descriptions of the kingdoms of the Ten Tribes.

describes a nation of warlike Jews, the Khaibar,[35] located twenty-one days' journey through the Arabian desert from 'Hella' in Babylonia.[36] Benjamin refers to Habor, the river Gozan and the cities of the Medes from the relevant passage in II Kings as to real places where there are Israelites, descendants, he claims, of those carried into exile by Salmanasar. In particular, he mentions many communities along the river Gozan.

The Jews of the Middle Ages believed the Ten Tribes still existed somewhere in the fabulous east. The apostate Joshua Lorca (Hieronymus de Sancta Fide) claimed to have found in the

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[35]. Perhaps a muddled reference to the once-prosperous Arab-Jewish settlement (or kingdom) of Khaibar, in the northern part of the Arabian peninsula, part of a larger Jewish and Judaizing commonwealth that held sway over much of the peninsula in the centuries immediately preceding the age of Mohammed. Khaibar was destroyed and most of its inhabitants were expelled in 628 C.E., the sixth year of the Mohammedan era. See Izthak Ben-Zvi, *The Exiled and the Redeemed*, 141-165; 144. Another possibility is that Benjamin was thinking of the biblical Habor, but confused it with the then-defunct Jewish commonwealth of Khaibar.

[36] "They possess large and strong cities and are not subject to any of the nations, but undertake warlike expeditions into distant provinces [...] The Jews are the terror of their neighbours [they are also very pious and learned, he continues]. There are altogether 300,000 Jews [...] It is reported that these Jews are of the tribes of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Menasseh, who were led away captives by Salmanesser, King of Assyria, and brought there. They built there strong cities, and are in warfare with many kingdoms, and they cannot easily be reached because of their situation, which requires a march of eighteen days through uninhabited deserts, and thus renders them difficult of access." Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 191-192.

letters of Maimonides that the Ten Tribes were a great nation. Part of this nation was ruled by the Persian 'Great Sultan', part was independent and located near the land of Prester John, with whom they were allied.[17] In one of his *responsa*, Abraham, the son of Maimonides, answers a question concerning the Ten Tribes, who are said to be in the desert (or 'in distant corners'[18]), that he can only refer to the passages of the Talmud, the Midrashim, the story of Eldad the Danite, his letter and its description of the ritual rules of the Ten Tribes, as well as some Hebrew words Eldad says they use.[19] Abraham relied on the traditional authorities, which generally supported the authenticity of the story. However, he was not willing to give details in the absence of sure knowledge or personal experience. By contrast, Arab-speaking and other near-eastern Jewish commentators more familiar with the geography of Asia Minor were keen to locate the Ten Tribes in areas of which they had some knowledge. Abraham may not have believed implicitly in the existence of the Lost Israelites or their descendants, but the claims of Joshua Lorca and the

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[17]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 194-195, citing Gustav Oppert, *Der Priester Johannes in Sage und Geschichte. Ein Beitrag zur Völker- und Kirchenhistorie und zur Heldendichtung des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1864), 18.

[18]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 195, note 2: "desert" if we read aleph, resh, chet, 'ayin; the ms. has 'distant corners', aleph, resh, chet, samech.

[19]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 195.

question posed to Abraham suggest that in the Middle Ages, many Jews -- even learned Jews -- did believe the Ten Tribes still existed.

3. The Later Middle Ages

The burning desire of the Jews for their Messiah was a widespread piece of 'common knowledge'. It is all the more interesting since we know not only that European Jewry experienced a groundswell of Messianic hopes in the wake of the numerous expulsions in the fifteenth century, but also that this Messianic hope was intimately connected with the belief that the Jews of the Diaspora would be saved at the time of the Messiah by the ten lost tribes of Israel, who were awaiting the day when God would send them back from their exile somewhere in the east beyond the fabled Sambation.

In 1892, David Kaufmann noted that the Jewish legend of the Ten Tribes as the future deliverers of Israel was "a faith that was slumbering in the popular [Jewish] consciousness"[40] all through the Middle Ages. The continuing appearance of signs that the Ten Tribes were still waiting for God to let the Sambation dry out, so that they might cross and deliver their brethren in the Diaspora, kept this faith alive. In the

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[40]. David Kaufmann, "A Rumour about the Ten Tribes in Pope Martin V.'s Time", in *Jewish Quarterly Review* [London, Original Series], IV (1892), 503-508; 503.

letter of Prester John (c. 1165), the Ten Tribes were said to be subjects of the fabled Christian king. This letter was translated into the main European languages, including Hebrew, in which it contributed to maintaining Jewish faith in the advent of the Ten Tribes.

A letter transcribed and preserved by the early fifteenth-century grammarian Joseph ben Jehuda Sarko in his Epistles is reprinted by Kaufmann.[41] This letter is a report of a mission to the papal court of Martin V in 1419. In the month of Nissan, the month of deliverance, the embassy arrived at Rome and the report of a distant Jewish kingdom threw the papal court into a fit of terror. The rumor was so strong and aroused such excitement that two distinguished members of the Jewish community, R. Elias and Benjamin ben Elchanan, set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to bring back whatever information they might find; a letter was sent to the Naqid (the leading representative of the Jewish community) of Egypt, R. Amram, commending the envoys to his care.[42]

Citing letters reprinted in Adolf Neubauer's *Kovets al Yad*,[43] Kaufmann claims that "throughout the fifteenth century

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[41]. Kaufmann, "A Rumour about the Ten Tribes", 504; Hebrew text from the Halberstamm Codex, no. 231: 506-508.

[42]. "A Rumour about the Ten Tribes", 505.

[43]. *Sammelband kleiner Beiträge aus Handschriften*, vol. IV (Berlin, 1888), 1,24.

Italian Jews sent home from the Holy Land letters teeming with references to the numerous signs that indicated the march of tne Ten Tribes. These were sedulously copied and widely disseminated among the communities of Italy."[44]

In the mid-15th century, Abraham of Perugia kept a running account of stories that the Ten Tribes had appeared both in Italy and elsewhere;[45] one even claimed that an army of these tribesmen was deploying near Ancona, the port from which Pius II (r. 1458-1464) planned to launch a crusade against the Turks, and was ready to march on Rome. The apocalyptic propagandist Abraham Halevi ben Eliezer saw in the struggles of the Falasha (Beta Israel) against the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia signs of approaching deliverance for the Jews of the Diaspora.[46] In the fifteenth century, Jewish messianic expectations parallel a larger apocalyptic anxiety, of which Savonarola was but one notable representative.[47]

In 1502, a German Jew called Ascher Lämmlein started preaching in Istria, near Venice. He styled himself a

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[44]. Kaufmann, "A Rumour about the Ten Tribes, 506.

[45]. *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 10 (New York, 1943), Article "Tribes, Ten Lost", 304.

[46]. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, *idem*.

[47]. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore*, 37. See also S. Krauss, "Le Roi de France, Charles VIII, et les espérances messianiques", in: *Revue des études juives* 51 (1906), 87-95, and Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

forerunner of the Messiah. He told the local Jews that if they did penance and undertook ascetic and charitable *mitzvoth*,[48] the Messiah would appear within six months. The calculation of Isaac Abrabanel (or Abarbanel; 1437-1508) that the messianic age would begin in 1503 and come to fruition within four weeks with the fall of Rome was the immediate background to Lämmlein's preaching, but the atmosphere was ripe. To Graetz, the intense sufferings of these people, many of whom were Spanish and Portuguese exiles, as well as what he calls 'cabbalistic nonsense' were responsible for the Messianic fervor that gripped Italy and Germany in 1502 and 1503.[49] Abraham Halevi ben Eliezer the Elder published his apocalyptic work *Mashre kitrin* (The Looser of Knots) at Constantinople in 1510.[50]

The history of Jewish messianism and its close association with the much-awaited advent of the fabled Ten Tribes would lead beyond the scope of this study, into both Jewish theology and current events. The goal of this chapter has been to establish the apocalyptic and messianic background

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[48]. *Mitzvoth* (plural of *mitzvah*) are good works commanded in the Law, the performance of which is both necessary and meritorious.

[49]. Heinrich Graetz, *Eine volkstümliche Geschichte der Juden*, vol. 5 (Berlin & Vienna, 1923/DTV reprint, 1985), 211-212.

[50]. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 43.

against which Christian perceptions of the Jews and of their legendary brethren in the east developed over the period from late antiquity to the high Middle Ages. Much has been omitted, for the sake of brevity as much as for the sake of clarity.

III. ANTISEMITISM AND APOCALYPTICISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

1. Comestor's Conflation: Gog and Magog Meet the Ten Tribes

The Ten Tribes were not always associated with Gog and Magog, nor had they always been understood as apocalyptic destroyers. According to Commodianus (early fourth century), the Ten Tribes were to return under the leadership of Christ the Messiah, conquer the Antichrist, and free Jerusalem.[1] However, in close association with a passage concerning Alexander, Orosius (fifth century) recounts that a great multitude of Jews were deported to the shores of the Caspian Sea, whence someday they will break out.[2] The close association between the Ten Tribes and the peoples enclosed in the area of the Caspian Sea was, therefore, firmly established in patristic precedent. It is no surprise that Roger Bacon

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1. *Commodiani Carmina, Instructionum liber* I, ch. xlii, "De populo absconso sancto omnipotentis Christi Dei vivi", *CChr* CXXVIII.34-35. See Appendix B, no. 1 for the complete text of this passage.

2. Orosius discusses Alexander's birth, then moves to the 'enclosed Jews'; cited by Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 63:

5. Quibus diebus etiam Alexander Magnus, vere ille gurges miseriarum atque atrocissimaus turbo totius orientis, est natus.

6. Tunc etiam Ochus, qui et Artaxerxes, post transactum in Aegypto maximum diuturnumque bellum plurimos Iudaeorum in transmigrationem egit atque in Hyrcania ad Caspium mare habitare praecepit, quos usque in hodiernum diem amplissimis generis sui incrementis consistere *atque exim [exinde] quandoque erupturos opinio est.*

The words in italics are added by Orosius, and do not appear in his sources.

(1214-1292), writing at a time when the identification of these two peoples had become solid 'fact' to most contemporaries, cites Orosius' sinister expression, "erupturos" (they will break out), in his *Opus Maius*: "...and those called Magog, after the prince Gog, their ruler, and the Jews likewise, who Orosius and other saintly authorities say will break out".[3] The identification of the apocalyptic destroyers Gog and Magog with the Ten Tribes of Israel was much stronger in other texts. It was a product of the twelfth century. It first appears in scholastic circles, but owes much to a literary tradition concerned with the place of Christendom in this world more than in the next. A control for the idea that this identification first appeared in the later twelfth century is the *Alexander* poem by Lamprecht (c. 1130).[4] Here, Gog and Magog are the nations enclosed by Alexander, as in the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius; there is no mention of the Ten Tribes or Jews.[5]

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3. "...et a principe Gog omnes qui subditi sunt Magog appellantur et Judaei similiter, quos Orosius et alii sancti referunt exituros." Cited by Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 64, from the edition of J H. Bridges (Oxford 1897), pars quarta, I, 365.

4. See Appendix B, no. 11 for the middle High German text and my translation.

5. The same state of affairs obtains in the *De imagine mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis (+1130), and in its middle High German derivative called the *Lucidarius* (12th century): see Appendix B, nos. 9 and 10.

The extraordinary Latin letter purporting to be from Prester John and addressed to various crowned heads of Europe[6] probably was in circulation for some time before 1165, the date mentioned by Alberic of Trois Fontaines in his *Chronicle* (1232)[7] as the date it first appeared. Ulrich Knefelkamp argues, in agreement with Leonardo Olschki's article of 1931,[8] that the Latin letter was the work of a cleric, possibly a German,[9] and was intended as an utopian model of a peaceful Christian realm of wondrous catholicity, in which all lived

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6. For a thorough history of the textual tradition and background to the Latin letter, see Friedrich Zarncke's critical edition: *Der Priester Johannes*. Erste Abhandlung, enthaltend Capitel I, II und III. (Leipzig 1879; = Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, no. VIII, vol. VII). The most recent and the most in-depth treatment of the letter of Prester John and of the subsequent legend is by Ulrich Knefelkamp, *Die Suche nach dem Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes. Dargestellt anhand von Reiseberichten und anderen ethnographischen Quellen des 12. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Gelsenkirchen, 1986).

7. Under the year 1165, Alberic writes in his chronicle "Ex hoc tempore Joannes Presbyter Indorum Rex literas suas ... ad diversos reges Christianitatis misit, specialiter autem Manueli Constantinopolitano, et Romanorum Imperatori, Friderico." Cited by Edward Ullendorf and C.F. Beckingham, *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 3.

8. "Der Brief des Priester Johannes", in: *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 144 (1931), 1-14.

9. Ulrich Knefelkamp's dissertation on Prester John is perhaps the most thorough treatment of the topic to date. Knefelkamp recapitulates the chain of evidence that led to this conclusion in his article "Der Priesterkönig Johannes und sein Reich -- Legende oder Realität?", in: *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988), 337-355; esp. 339-348.

harmoniously. To Olschki, this vision was a political polemic against the disorders and disturbances of the time; it would serve the same function when it was revived in the thirteenth century.[10] The humility of Prester John at his court was a not very veiled critique of the worldly pomp at western courts both secular and ecclesiastic. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was accorded all the credence due documented fact -- after all, what evidence was there to disprove the story? Olschki draws some interesting conclusions concerning who believed the story and why:

> "One sees that the medieval willingness to believe [such stories] depended neither on the extent of one's education, nor the scope of one's experience, neither on class nor on nationality: Popes, Emperors, kings, scholars, clerics, poets and the anonymous audiences of the ballad singers in towns and villages were equally convinced that the story was true."

Poets such as Wolfram von Eschenbach used the story not just as a source of marvelous material, but as an historical document that increased the credibility and power of their narratives.

> "As one can see again and again from the sources, the obverse of medieval credulity was a positive sense of the concrete, [a preference for] actual things."[11]

Such 'concrete things' may or may not strike modern observers

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[10]. Olschki, 10; see also Richard Hennig, "Das Neuaufleben der Priester-Johannes-Erwartung im 1. Teil des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953), 11-21.

[11]. Olschki, *Der Brief*, 6.

as credible or reasonable; they may even seem like transparent fictions. The Holy Grail is a good example. Lacking any solid basis in Scripture, this legend about a holy object possessed a popularity and a longevity equalled only by the cults of the more prominent saints. Such concrete things made sense to people who preferred 'actual things'; they were thus 'real', at least subjectively -- whatever we may call them.

In this letter, the Ten Tribes are located in the far east of Prester John's kingdom, among many other wonders, near a sea of sand,[12] beyond a river of stones:

> "Beyond the river of stones are the Ten Tribes of the Jews, who, although they pretend they have kings, serve Us and are tributaries of Our Excellency."[13]

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[12]. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 914. The sandy sea is here brought into contact with a river that stands still for part of the week, just as the Sambation was said to do in Jewish lore:
31. Inter cetera, quae mirabiliter in terra nostra contingunt, est harenosum mare sine aqua. Harena enim movetur et tumescit in undas ad similitudinem omnis maris et nunquam est tranquillum. Hoc mare neque navigatio neque alio mode transiri potest, et ideo cuiusmodi terra ultra sit sciri non potest. [...] 32. Tribus dietis longe ab hoc mari sunt montes quidam, ex quibus descendit fluvius lapidum eodem modo sine aqua, et fluit per terram nostram usque ad mare harenosum. 33. Tribus diebus in septimana fluit et labuntur parvi et magni lapides et trahunt secum ligna usque ad mare harenosum...

[13]. "Ultra fluvium vero lapidum sunt x tribus Iudaeorum, qui quamvis fingant sibi reges, servi tamen nostri sunt et tributarii excellentiae nostrae." Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 915, 41. Notice the reference to the Christian interpretation of Gen. 49,10 (Jacob's blessing: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.") disallowing any possibility that Jews might possess the kingly 'sceptre', since the Messiah has already come.

There is no mention in this context of Alexander or mountains in which these Jews might be enclosed. In another passage probably added in the twelfth century, Gog and Magog are enclosed by Alexander. The description is drawn from the tradition of the 'unclean nations' of the Alexander cycle:

> "We [sc. Prester John] have other peoples, who eat only the meat both of humans and of brute animals as well as that of aborted fetuses, and who never fear death. And when one of them dies, both his relatives and strangers eat of his flesh with great relish, saying: 'It is a most sacred thing to eat human flesh'. The names of these people are these: Gog and Magog, etc. [...] Young Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, enclosed these and many other peoples in extremely high mountains in the far north. [...] And this dreadful spawn will come forth before the end of time, at the time of the Antichrist, from the four corners of the earth, and will surround the entire camp of the saints and the great city of Rome [...] No wonder, for their number is like that of the sand which is on the shores of the sea; it is certain that no people, no kingdom, will be able to resist them."[14]

That Alexander enclosed both Gog and Magog and the Ten Tribes does not equate these two peoples, but it is a step in that direction; the identification was to follow soon after. When this identification takes place, the foul characteristics ascribed to Gog and Magog in the *Letter* will be applicable to the Ten Tribes as well.

In the Ten Tribes passage, echoes of the Jewish tradition are unmistakable. Ullendorf and Beckingham have even suggested

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[14]. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 911. This passage, taken from the Alexander tradition, is found in manuscripts from the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century (Zarncke, 893). For the Latin text, see Appendix B.

that the first Hebrew version of the letter, which they argue was addressed to pope Alexander III (reigned 1159-1181), may have been the original, or at least was no mere translation.[15] The first Hebrew letter also mentions both the enclosed Jews (Ten Tribes) and Gog and Magog, but identifies only the latter as the peoples enclosed by Alexander the Great.[16] The Latin and Hebrew letters both borrowed details from the highly popular tale of Eldad the Danite.[17] Like the Hebrew letter of Prester John, the diary of Eldad's travels cites (perhaps inadvertently) Revelation 20,8: "the number of whom is as the

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[15]. Ullendorf and Beckingham, *Hebrew Letter*, 27-29. The six Hebrew versions are listed thereafter, including the rare 1519 Constantinople print and the abbreviation in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis*, book VI (Basel 1550), 1161-1162.

[16]. "And furthermore we inform you that at the edge of the desert there are men who have two small horns on their forehead, and they have one eye in front and two at the back. And these men are called Peminus [a corruption of Polyphemus] and they eat uncooked meat and they eat flesh and blood [human] and the meat of beasts and animals, and sometimes we wage war against them for they are not Christians and they do not have fear of death; and when their fathers are close to death they slaughter them and eat their flesh uncooked and say that this is an important matter and good flesh which rejoices the heart, and they say that this is for the redemption of their sins. And this nation is called Gog and Magog, and they are the people whom Alexander had locked up, because they are evil-doers and sinners, in the mountains called Gogis (Genghis). And when the Antichrist [!] is born these men will be doing great evil in the world." Ullendorf and Beckingham's translation in *Hebrew Letter*, 44-46.

[17]. See the English translation by Adolf Neubauer, in his "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 99-104; Eldad's tale is discussed in chapter II.

sand of the sea", in reference not to Gog and Magog, but to the tribe of Dan: "The tribe of Dan, of the sons of Samson, is numerous as the sand of the sea..."[18] The Sambation is described as a river of stones.[19] It is not unreasonable to suggest that the ancient Jewish tradition of the Ten Tribes influenced both the Latin and the Hebrew letters of Prester John via the tale of Eldad the Danite.

According to a late twelfth-century middle High German translation of the Latin letter of Prester John, the Ten Tribes are "enclosed", not by Alexander, but by the Sambation: Eldad's story as mediated by the Latin letter here shows the first signs of conflation with the Alexander story.[20] In a much later manuscript in the collection of the Ambras-und-Hofbibliothek, Vienna (cited by Anderson[21]), a work that dates

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[18]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 100.

[19]. Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", 102.

[20]. The Berlin manuscript is from northern Germany, and dates from the end of the twelfth century. It contains the sand sea, as do the Latin and Hebrew letters (Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 951), and the river of stones: "There is a river that flows through there, three days' march in length at one end of my lands, and flows into the same sand (the sand sea): no-one ever saw so big a river flowing. It has not a single drop of water: what flows in it are stones, and great ordinary blocks of wood [...] I do not know why, but three days in the week, just before daybreak, it stands still: and anyone who wishes can cross it. These same stones that flow there enclose a people of mine, of the Jewish tribes, of whom there is not one who does not serve me." For the German text and my translation, see Appendix B, no. 14.

[21]. *Alexander's Gate*, 58.

from the early fourteenth century,[32] the Ten Tribes are described as having been enclosed by Alexander -- as in the majority of works dating from this period.[33] The Munich manuscript, also from the beginning of the fourteenth century, places the Jews beyond a mountain range.[34]

Petrus Comestor (c. 1110 to 1179)[35] was simply drawing

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[32]. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 956.

[33]. See below, concerning the Red Jews. The passage in question from the Vienna manuscript translates as follows: Hear what I say: beyond the river of stones, the ten tribes of the Jews are locked up, man, woman and child, by means of a mountain that is wondrous high, who never ever, on no day nor at any time, will come out of their prison, and earthly man never heard anything more of them, whom Alexander in the olden times (marvelously commanding [the mountains] to come together and move apart) locked up alive therein: over which I also rule. They claim to have lords and kings among them; but I am without a doubt lord over them all. They pay me tribute, and I tell you truly, they acknowledge us as lord, when they see our might. For the German text and my translation, see Appendix B, no. 15.

[34]. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 999, stanza 41, vv. 437-444: "Beyond the mountain is a Jewish people of considerable cunning: they set up kings among themselves; but I am their lord now. They are two tribes, they must obey me in all their desires, otherwise they will never prosper." (Anderthalb des pirgs ist / ein jüdisch volkch mit maniger list: / die setzen chunig vnder in; / der selben herr ich nu pin. / Zwai [?] geslächt so sind ir, / die müssen mir all mit ir gïr / gar vndertanig wesen, / si möchten anders nicht genesen.).

[35]. For details concerning the Comestor's (or Manducator's) life and works, see Saralyn R. Daly, "Peter Comestor: Master of Histories", in: *Speculum* 32 (1957), 62-73. Ignatius Brady, "Peter Manducator and the Oral Teachings of Peter Lombard", in: *Antonianum* 41 (1966), 454-490. For more recent (and more specialized) studies, see David Luscombe, "Peter Comestor", in: The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood

the logical conclusion from the tradition of juxtaposition, which started with Orosius, when he -- probably for the first time -- confused or conflated the Gog and Magog tradition (via the Alexander cycle) with that of the Ten Tribes.[36] His magisterial and extremely popular edition of the Bible embellished with stories and legends, the *Historia Scholastica*, was written between 1169 and 1173.[37] In his lead-

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(Oxford, at the University Press, 1985), 109-129; Jean Longère, "Pierre le Mangeur", in: *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, 12/2 (1986), 1614-1626; and Sandra Rae Karp, "Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*: A Study in the Development of Literal Scriptural Exegesis", Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1978.

[36]. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, notes a variant of the same conflation in the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo (died 1190), a younger contemporary of Petrus Comestor. In Godfrey's version, Alexander shut in <u>two</u> peoples: the Ten Tribes and Gog and Magog. Anderson concludes that both versions were based on an older source (69-70); see also Friedrich Pfister, "Zu den deutschen Alexandergeschichten" in: *Kleinere Schriften*, 228-253, 242-3; and "Alexander der Große in den Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen", in: *Idem*, 301-347, 340-341.

[37]. See James H. Morey, "Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible", in: *Speculum* 68,1 (1993), 6-35, for a thorough discussion of the popularity, sources and reception of the *Historia*. Morey notes that the *Historia*, "one of the most popular books in the late Middle Ages" (8), has received no critical edition or major study and has been neglected in the standard works on scholastic study of the Bible (e.g., Beryl Smalley's *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (3rd ed., Oxford, at the University Press, 1983), which concentrates on Stephen Langton and Peter the Chanter, in the chapter "Masters of the Sacred Page", 196-263), but qualifies this assertion with the information that Comestor's "influence on medieval vernacular religious literature was more significant than either Langton's or Peter the Chanter's" (8). The many early translations into the

in to a discussion of Comestor's work, Anderson cites Albertus Magnus (c.1200-1280), who quotes from Comestor, then Orosius and Roger Bacon to show that the Ten Tribes were regarded as 'inclosed nations',[28] and finally credits Comestor with 'consummating' this 'far-reaching change'. Granted, the suggestion that the Ten Tribes of the Hebrew Bible were Gog and Magog of Revelations[29] had been prepared for some time; it was practically built into the structure of Christian exegesis, which generally treated the Hebrew Bible as a veiled foreshadowing of the Christian scriptures. But Comestor made the identification explicit before the time of Albertus or Bacon.

Concerning the Ten Tribes, Comestor altered the tradition of their exile in one important detail: Salmanassar, King of Assyria, placed the 'seven remaining tribes' "by the river Gozan beyond the mountains of the Medes and Persians"

European vernaculars prove the point: a Saxon version, the first of the German Historiated Bibles, was made c. 1248, by order of Heinrich Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia; Jacob van Maerlant produced the Dutch *Rijmbijbel* in c. 1271; the French *Bible historiale* of Guyart Desmoulins dates to c. 1295; and Portuguese and Czech translations were made in the fourteenth century (Morey, "Peter Comestor", 3).

[28]. Without making any determination as to when this apparent consensus appeared; Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 62-64.

[29]. Gog from the land of Magog in Ezekiel 38-39.

(emphasis added).[30] Thus, the Biblical passage [II Kings 17,6] underwent a subtle change that brought it more into line with the Alexander legend and the mountains beyond or within which the Macedonian was believed to have enclosed Gog and Magog.

A few chapters later, at the end of his commentary on the book of Esther, Comestor recounted that when Alexander was on campaign in the east, he was approached by representatives of the Ten Tribes, who asked if they might be released from imprisonment in their mountain fastness near the Caspian Sea. When Alexander asked why they were imprisoned, he heard it was for the idolatry committed by their ancestors, who had turned away from the God of Israel and worshipped idols (golden calves). Thereupon Alexander ordered that they be shut up all the more tightly, and begged God to move the mountains together.[31] God granted his request, even though Alexander was a heathen -- suggesting that the cause must have been just. Peter notes that these peoples would break out at the end of time and devastate the world. The purely Jewish tradition of

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[30]. "... et posuit eos iuxta fluvium Gozan ultra montes Medorum et Persarum." *Historia Scholastica*, Lib. IV Regum [II Kings], xxvi, *PL* CXCVIII.1407. See Appendix B, no. 13 for the text of the passage. According to Anderson, Benjamin of Tudela, in his contemporaneous travelogue, writes "the mountains of Gozan and the mountains of Media." (*Alexander's Gate*, 65, note 1). I have not been able to find this passage in the editions of Benjamin's *Travels* available to me.

[31]. *Historia Scholastica*, lib. Esther iv-v: de Alexandro, in *PL* CXCVIII.1496a-1496c.

the ten lost tribes,[12] based on II Kings and IV Ezra, and familiar to Christians at least through the letter of Prester John, is fitted into the 'Gog-and-Magog-enclosed-by-Alexander' tradition already familiar to Christian readers of the Alexander material; the mountains in the east, which come originally from the Alexander tradition, were implanted in the Biblical passage by Comestor in his rendering of II Kings 17,6, and the two stories suddenly fit together. Christian exegetical and historical literature received this 'new and improved' version of the Ten Tribes story from Peter 'the Eater' and passed it on throughout the Middle Ages.[13] Medieval vernacular letters both secular and religious picked up and developed this theme. Peter's conflation was in no way flattering to the Jews.[14] Even if he had taken the Ten Tribes

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[12]. See especially Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?", for a lengthy and detailed history of the story of the Ten Tribes in Jewish sources from the beginning of the common era to the eighteenth century. See also H. Roth, "Beiträge zu der Alexandersage: Aus einem Brief des Herrn Prof. Roth an Prof. Graf", in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* IX (1855) 797-799; esp. 799, and Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 70.

[13]. See Pfister, "Offenbarungen", 341, esp. note 120. Comestor's conflation found its way into another very popular version of the Alexander story, the *Historia de preliis Alexandri magni* -- only in a few manuscripts, but in all three recensions. It is a later interpolation from Comestor (*Idem*, 341).

[14]. In his closely-argued book *The Formation of a Persecuting Society. Power and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), R.I. Moore writes: "It seems certain that the formation of that stereotype [the Jews

story from Jewish sources -- and the letter of Prester John is a more likely source -- his identification of the lost Israelites with the peoples enclosed by Alexander (Gog and Magog) was decidedly unfriendly. As we have seen, one of the most popular apocalyptic texts current in Europe from the eighth to the sixteenth century, the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius, ascribed all manner of appalling sins and transgressions to 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander': unspeakable cruelty and cannibalism, including roasting or boiling pregnant women and eating their fetuses, and dipping swords in fetal blood.[15] These details were included in the

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as blaspheming and sacrilegious enemies of Christ] together with the specialization of the Jews in the business of money-lending and the activities associated with it, and with the establishment in most areas of their peculiar juridical status as the possessions -- the serfs -- of the king, was in practice though not in principle the work of the twelfth century." This development in principle Moore situates in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). However, Peter Comestor foreshadows the identification in principle of Jews (the Ten Tribes) with the forces of ultimate evil.

[15]. The edition of the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius most usually accessible is that edited by Theodor Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores. Auctores Antiquissimi XI. Chronica minora saeculorum IV.V.VI.VII., vol. II* (1894); Gog and Magog are "gentes immundas et aspectu orribilis" (VIII, 72); they eat "canes, mures, serpentes, morticinorum carnes, aborticia informabilia corpora" (VIII, 73). I have cited from Ernst Sackur's standard edition in his *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* in Appendix C, no. 2. See also the famous printing of Michael Furter, edited by Sebastian Brant, at Basil in 1498. In this version, the lines cited above are as follows: "gentes immundas et aspectu horribiles" (fol. biiij^r, 1); and "canes, mures, serpentes, morticinorum carnes, abortiva infirmabilia corpora" (fol. biiij^r, 3).

letter of Prester John, in which the reported cannibalism is called *sacratissimum*, an especially holy act. The apocalyptic destroyers thus were cast in the worst of all possible lights, partly as a stratagem to frighten unrepentant sinners and lukewarm Christians into mending their ways. Petrus Comestor went one step farther: he equated the Jews of the Ten Tribes with the evil peoples Alexander had enclosed to protect the rest of humanity.[16]

A close contemporary of Comestor, Godfrey of Viterbo (1125-1190 or 1202), brought Gog and Magog into close association with the Ten Tribes: Alexander walled up both the former, who are cannibals, and the descendents of the disobedient and idolatrous Israelites, though Godfrey does not identify them with one another.[17]

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[16]. The steady slide in the status of the Jews in medieval Europe, documented for the preceding century by Lea Dasberg (*Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des Judenstatus im 11. Jahrhundert*) went hand in hand with all sorts of hostile beliefs about the Jews and their activities. See Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*.

[17]. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 69, cites a short passage from Godfrey's *Pantheon* (*Chronica*) in the edition of Joannes Pistorius Nidanus, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores* II (Ratisbon [Regensburg], 1731), part XI, 165, cols. 1 and 2. Migne's *Patrologia Latina* does not contain the relevant passages. The edition available to me was an older print that differs in no significant respect from Nidanus': *Pantheon sive Universitatis Libri, qui Chronici appellantur, xx, Omnes omnium seculorum et gentium, tam sacras quam prophanas Historias complectentes* (Basel 1559). For a lengthier and more complete selection than Anderson offers, see Appendix B, no. 16. Here are the key passages in English translation: Part XI, 266, line 22: "He saw the people of the Jews, practically hundreds of thousands,

The Comestor, a student of Peter Lombard, continued the Victorine tradition, which M. Grabmann has called a 'Biblical moral school'.[18] With Peter the Chanter (+1197) and Stephen Langton (+1228), the Comestor shared a "common interest in biblical studies and in practical moral questions".[19] Practical moral questions included the vexed issue of usury.

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captives of Salmanasar and imprisoned there, who were the spoils of war from Samaria. It is said that Alexander was begged by this people for his help so that they might return to their fatherland. The king, when he saw how things were, was not moved, and said: If God has imprisoned you here for the sins of your people, the orders of God in Heaven are not to be countermanded by me. As God has arranged, so you will remain, he said. [...]." Line 46: De Goth et Magoth quos Alexander inter montes conclusit. "At the ends of India there was a race of men called Goth and Magoth, called by their surname, concerning them I wish to write little. From other writings you can learn what he knows [?], as told in Isaiah, Isidore, and Revelation. Even the great Sibyll touches on them in her prophecies. This filthy people is accustomed to eating human flesh. They know neither king nor law nor lord nor justice; rules and regulations are nothing to them. [...] The grave of their fathers is their belly, and the ancestral graves are in their bellies. [...] When the world comes to an end, after they come out in strength, then both the New and Old Law will be struck down. Then the strength of the Antichrist will be favorable to them, such that this people will seek to resist the churches of Christ, and will be the sworn enemies of the Christian faithful."

[18]. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, II (Freiburg, 1911), 467; cited by Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 197. The term 'Victorine' comes from Hugh of St. Victor (+1141), and the abbey of canons regular called St. Victor, founded at Paris in 1110, as a means of reuniting the cloistered life of prayer and the 'active' life of scholarship. Hugh set forth the Victorine program in his *Didascalion*. See Smalley, 83-195.

[19]. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 197.

To Comestor's contemporary, Peter the Chanter, usurers were prevalent for two reasons: first, because of the support they received from princes and prelates; second, lay usury profited from the protection extended to Jewish money-lenders.[40] This critique came at a truly critical juncture. Since around 1100, the bulk of Jewish professional activity had switched from commerce toward money-lending.[41] Mercantile activity can lead to wealth and envious neighbors, but 'usury', prohibited by canon law, and much more lucrative than the rough slogging of long-distance trade, led quickly to both riches and hatred. Popes and councils had not pronounced on Jewish money-lending until Innocent III protested against it in a letter of 1198 concerning crusaders (*Post miserabilem*).[42] It was toward the end of the twelfth century that the words 'Jew' and 'usurer'

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[40]. John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle, I (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 298.

[41]. Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*. From the Time of Christ to the Court Jews, trans. Richard Howard (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1967), 73-83; James Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*. A study of his political and economic situation, 2nd ed. (New York: Hermon Press, 1976 [1938]), 178-179; on medieval Jewish money-lending in general, see pages 273-387. In 1311, 'usury' would be formally identified with heresy, and placed under the control of the Inquisition. As early as 1209, under the influence of Fulk, Bishop of Toulouse (a friend of St. Dominic), a group was founded 'to drive out heretics and combat usurers': Parkes, 288.

[42]. Cited by Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, II, note 16 to chapter XV, 204.

became synonymous, and it was in 1180-82 that Philip Augustus of France arrested and ransomed for enormous sums the Jews of his royal domain. He collected for himself a fifth of accounts owed them, confiscated their land and in 1190, expelled them from the domain -- only to re-admit them in 1198. The theologians of the Chanter's circle protested these heavy-handed methods, claiming rather that the Jews' 'ill-gotten gains' ought to be restored to the 'victims'; however, the atmosphere of hatred for Jews was quite well established.[43]

The rise of inquisitorial activity under the newly-founded Dominican order extended, at the request of two southern French rabbis, Solomon ben Abraham and Jonah Gerondi, to the burning of Maimonides' works at Montpellier and Paris in 1234. The Dominican Nicholas Donin, a convert from Judaism, persuaded Pope Gregory IX that the Talmud was an immoral book offensive to Christians. The Pope urged the kings and bishops of Christendom to investigate the Talmud, which was seized throughout France by the authority of Saint Louis (Louis IX). A public debate at Paris in 1240 led to the condemnation of the Talmud and the public burning of all copies. The popular *Desputaison de la Sainte Eglise et de la Synagogue* by the jongleur Clopin, dating from the same period, is a direct echo of the 1240 controversy. Clopin suggested that the Jews were

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[43]. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, 298-299.

poisoners not merely of the body (as sorcerers and physicians), but of the mind and soul (as scholars and heretics).[44] Clearly, the climate of antisemitism was heating up; religious matters were, as so often, the focal or flash point for Christian aggression.

Comestor's conflation preceded Philip Augustus' harsh policy by a decade. The antisemitic turn taken by events under Philip Augustus and in the following century was foreshadowed in Comestor's amalgamation: via their Israelitish brethren in the east, Jews in general are contaminated by the opprobrium of association with 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander', that is the 'unclean nations'. The flesh-and-blood Jews of western Europe were hardly liked; but the apocalyptic Jews of Comestor's exegetical fantasy were terrifying savages who would do appalling things to Christians as soon as they got a chance. The link between a burgeoning popular and religious antisemitism and the ancient Christian obsession with the Final Things was thus established via the identification of two 'concrete' nations (no matter how 'imaginary' they may seem to us), whose overt similarities (esp. their role at the end of time) seem to have counted for more than their complete lack of association in the Bible. In fact, the contrary opinions of the Church Fathers, especially Jerome and

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[44]. Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, 69-72.

Augustine, were taken into consideration only by certain learned and Latinate clerics; the broad mass of Latin and vernacular works that mention the Ten Tribes and Gog and Magog after Comestor's time reproduce his conflation.

Norman Cohn's persuasive argument concerning modern antisemitism, as opposed to the medieval variety, is apposite here, as it adds a crucial psychological perspective to the traditional arguments about economic and social conflict between Christians and Jews:

> "As I see it the deadliest kind of anti-semitism, the kind that results in massacres and attempted genocide, has little to do with real conflicts of interest between living people or even with racial prejudice as such. At its heart lies the belief that Jews -- all Jews everywhere -- form a conspiratorial body set on ruining and then dominating the rest of mankind. And this belief is simply a modernized, secularized version of the popular medieval view of the Jews as a league of sorcerers employed by Satan for the spiritual and physical ruination of Christendom."[45]

However, not only Satan was important in medieval Christian perceptions of the 'Jewish threat'. The Jews of the here-and-now might be charged with conspiring to harm individual Christians, but the Ten Tribes, once they had been assimilated to the apocalyptic nations Gog and Magog, were evidently going to destroy Christendom at the end of time, as players in what was literally the ultimate conspiracy. To people who believed themselves to be living at the end of

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[45]. Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970/Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967), 12.

time, the End and its horrors were not part of a far-off future, but a part of their everyday lives. Not so much a conspiracy as a foregone conclusion, the Jewish role as destroyers doing God's dirty work presents a striking parallel to medieval Christianity's insistence that the Jews were to blame for Jesus' death -- even though his death was also a foregone conclusion, part of God's plan. When contacts between the Jews of Europe and the Jewish destroyers in the East were suggested, as they would be in the thirteenth century by Matthew of Paris[16] and in the fourteenth century,[17] the contamination of European Jewry with the evil of the triply-fictitious 'Ten-Tribes-enclosed-by-Alexander' would be complete.

2. Jewish Cannibalism. Another Hostile Identification

The identification of the Ten Tribes with Gog and Magog provides a new perspective on an unsavory episode in the history of medieval anti-Jewish propaganda, namely the accusation of ritual cannibalism levelled at Jews -- similar to charges of a sacred or even liturgical cannibalism directed at Christians in the second century, Montanists in the fifth, Paulicians in the eighth, the Bogomils in the eleventh, and

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[16]. See below in this chapter.

[17]. In *Mandeville's Travels* and in a fourteenth-century *Jahrbuch* of Zurich; see Appendix A and chapter IV.

those burnt as heretics at Orléans in 1022.[48] These accusations reached a watershed in the thirteenth century. Gavin Langmuir has examined the first accusation of ritual cannibalism known to have been aimed at Jews: in 1235 at Fulda. Thirty-four Jews were convicted of this imaginary crime and judicially murdered.[49] Langmuir then asks "Since we can now recognize how novel that accusation was, a fascinating question arises: Where did the idea that Jews had committed ritual cannibalism come from?"[50] He suggests that the preaching of Conrad of Marburg 'had mightily disturbed the minds of Germans at that time', but concedes:

> "We cannot, however, say that Conrad himself invented the fantasy of Jewish ritual cannibalism [...] The simplest explanation, therefore, would seem to be that the accusation against the Jews sprang from the heads of the crusaders or citizens of Fulda who had heard all the horrifying stories about the heretics' secret rituals and were stimulated by the summons to crusade to project something similar on the worst enemies of Christ, the Jews."[51]

Langmuir's provocative thesis concerning the various types of antisemitism is clearly in evidence here. He calls the accusation itself a fantasy; he calls such accusations in

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[48]. Gavin Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*, 274.

[49]. *Antisemitism*, 274-281.

[50]. Langmuir, *Antisemitism*, 277.

[51]. Langmuir, *Antisemitism*, 277.

general "chimerical fantasies".[52] In the same vein, Langmuir has argued that the most virulent variety of hatred for Jews -- or any other group -- is a projection of unobserved and unprovable characteristics by a dominant group onto a minority. This he calls 'chimeria', and argues that it is essentially the same phenomenon whether it concerns Jews, Turks, heretics, or witches. 'Chimeria' is a neologism that describes threats perceived by those subject to extreme delusions about an outgroup: ritual cannibalism, the blood libel, or National Socialist beliefs concerning the evil and inferior nature of Jews.[53] Langmuir also states in a footnote, in a related work, that "belief in a Jewish conspiracy was present from the very beginning of irrational beliefs about them",[54] but does not allow this insight to function in his analysis of the Fulda case.

The evidence adduced here allows us to suggest an alternative to Langmuir's conclusions and theories. The Fulda accusations of ritual cannibalism were neither novel, nor spontaneous, nor simply an echo of earlier, similarly 'chimeric' charges. This is not to say that the Jews of Fulda

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[52]. Langmuir, *Antisemitism*, 274.

[53]. See "Toward a Definition of Antisemitism", chapter 14.

[54]. See "From Anti-Judaism to Antisemitism", in *History, Religion and Antisemitism* (Berekeley: University of California Press, 1990), 298, note 24.

practiced cannibalism; on the contrary. But Christians may have had excellent reasons to believe that Jews -- namely the Ten Tribes understood as Gog and Magog -- did. It is impossible to say with certainty whether Comestor's highly influential conflation had reached the clergy and citizens of Fulda, yet such an eventuality would fully explain the charges of ritual cannibalism. The production of a Saxon version of the *Historia Scholastica* around 1248, in neighboring Thuringia, suggests that Comestor was known in Germany in the early thirteenth century.[15] In the very same year as the incident at Fulda (1235), and not very far away, the Ebstorf map of the world depicted the "gentes immundas gog et magog", enclosed by a mountain range and a great wall, eating human body parts that are spurting blood. The caption states that they eat human flesh and drink human blood.[16] Other contemporary evidence from the same cultural and linguistic sphere is furnished by the *Saxon Chronicle* (*Sächsische Weltchronik*) of Eike von Repgow, which dates from the early

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[15]. Morey, "Peter Comestor", 3.

[16]. On the *mappamundi* of the Ebstorf cloister (in present-day Lower Saxony), Gog and Magog were described as having been enclosed by Alexander and as eating human flesh and drinking human blood. They are depicted eating human body parts (a lower leg with a foot attached and a severed hand are clearly recognizable). See Leo Bagrow and R.A. Skelton, *Die Meister der Kartographie* (Berlin, 1973), 315, and Appendix D, no. 1 for a reproduction. The map was destroyed by fire in the second World War.

thirteenth century.[57] Here, the Ten Tribes are identified as the peoples enclosed by Alexander, who will 'come out and commit great slaughter among [Christians]' at the end of time: therefore, they have been identified with Gog and Magog. The Ten Tribes were equated with Gog and Magog in courtly German letters of the early thirteenth century; they were even called 'the Jews'.[58] The same still held true in the 1270s.[59] The Comestorine identification was current, then, at this time in northern Germany; the Ten Tribes were referred to as 'the Jews' in two contemporary vernacular texts. The *Letter of Prester John*, which had a considerable vogue or revival in the early thirteenth century,[60] reported, as we know, that 'Gog

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[57]. See Appendix B, no. 19, lines 3-15.

[58]. See Rudolf von Ems' *Alexander*, which was written between 1220 and the 1250s; Appendix B, no. 21, lines 13038-13045: 'the Jews' enclosed by Alexander are identical with Gog and Magog; they are apocalyptic destroyers; they are called both 'the Ten Tribes' and 'the Jews'.

[59]. See Ulrich von Eschenbach's *Alexander*, written between 1271 and 1286; Appendix B, no. 25, lines 20901-20910: Gog and Magog are called 'the Jews'.

[60]. See Richard Hennig, "Das Neuaufleben der Priester Johannes-Erwartung", 11-21. Hennig cites the letter of Jacques de Vitry, in his capacity as Bishop of Acre, to Pope Honorius, dated 'Sunday after Easter' (18 April), 1221, which identifies the Georgians and their leader 'David' (actually George IV Lascha, who ruled 1212-1223) with the Indians and their ruler Prester John. George had written in 1218 or 1219 to the chancellor of the Principality of Antioch, Galterius, and promised to aid the Christian army then besieging Damietta in its fight against the Saracens. This was the origin of Jacques' report. George was unable to keep his word due to the Mongol wave that rolled over his kingdom under Genghis Khan in

and Magog enclosed by Alexander' believed "the eating of human flesh is a most sacred act" ("sacratissimum est humanam carnem manducare"). Although there is no concrete evidence that the citizens of Fulda identified their Jewish neighbors and victims with the Ten Tribes of the Comestorine conflation, this solution makes the most sense of the belief common in that time and place that Gog and Magog (the Jews of the Apocalypse) eat human flesh, probably for religious reasons. Certainly, the notion of European Jews as cannibals was novel and boded ill for the future.

Nonetheless, similar ideas were common currency; the supposed cannibals posed the greatest threat imaginable to the civilized world. Just as the 'unclean nations' had come to be identified with Gog and Magog in earlier centuries, the previous conflation had been identified by this time with the Ten Tribes of Israel. So long as Gog and Magog were depicted as cannibals in Latin sources and in the Alexander novel -- this occurred well into the sixteenth century -- and so long as the Ten Tribes were identified with the destroyers Gog and Magog --until the end of the fifteenth century at least --

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1221; the advent of the Mongols also stirred up rumors that Prester John was on the march -- after all, he was the only one who could have stood up to the nomadic armies --; indeed, Jacques seems to have confused conqueror and conquered as one Christian army. (Hennig, 16). It is ironic that when Jacques wrote to Honorius, Genghis Khan and his armies had already entered Georgia. The next stage in their westward campaign would begin in 1235.

Christians would have ample reason, based on the Alexander story, the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius and the Comestorine tradition, to believe that the Jewish Ten Tribes/Gog and Magog practiced cannibalism, both out of savagery and for religious purposes.

Langmuir suspects that an influential person (probably Conrad) "with a wide perspective, strong -- albeit perverted -- religious concerns and considerable prestige" was behind the extraordinary undertaking to move the bodies of the alleged victims of Fulda 150 miles across the Rhine to Hagenau to show to the Emperor.[91] This is no chimerical fantasy that 'sprang from the heads' of medieval Christians; no "new fantasy [...] created by some people at Fulda in 1235."[92] The Christians of Fulda, seemingly among the first to act on this suspicion, and the Christians who would believe it for many centuries to come, were prepared for such thoughts by centuries of tradition that seeped deeply into the popular, vernacular consciousness -- especially in Germany, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Langmuir's synthesis, which attempts to analyze medieval, early modern and recent forms of anti-Judaic and antisemitic sentiment and belief according to a single set of criteria,

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[91]. Langmuir, *Antisemitism*, 279-280.

[92]. Langmuir, *Antisemitism*, 281.

suffers from one major shortcoming: by labelling all such beliefs 'irrational' (a descriptive adjective that would not have made much sense to most medieval Christians), Langmuir fails to accord to the intellectual and religious universe of those doing the perceiving any consistent or determinative role. He suggests that pre-programmed, established stereotypes of evil available to contemporary Christians could be pulled off an imaginary shelf at will and applied to Jews, or lepers, or even witches. Far from being irrational fantasies, such projections were built into medieval culture and its world-view: it was internally consistent for the Christian Middle Ages to interpret current events through the filter of biblical, literary and scholastic tradition.

Marcel Simon has outlined the history of Christian antisemitism in antiquity, noting that theology set a limit to antisemitism, as Scripture assigned Jews a role and a part to play.[93] He argues that not the real or imagined vices of the Jews, but the vigor and tenacity of their religion elicited hatred.[94] However, the twelfth century seized on the destructive role assigned to the Jews by Christian exegesis as one of the real reasons to hate and fear them. Another way to

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[93]. M. Simon, "Christian Anti-Semitism", in: *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict From Late Antiquity to the Reformation*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991), 131-173; 161.

[94]. Simon, "Christian Anti-Semitism", 164.

explain the antisemitic mechanisms at work at Fulda in 1235 is: imagined vices pre-programmed by the Comestorine tradition fed pre-existing hatred and fears. Not real conflicts of interest between living people, to paraphrase Cohn, but beliefs that came very close to positing a demonic Jewish 'conspiracy' of all Jews everywhere to ruin Christianity in spirit and in body were at work in Fulda in 1235.[95]

3. Variants and Variety. The Ten Tribes in Europe

The *Historia Scholastica* gave rise to two variants of the enclosure story. The first was popular not only in the German lands, but in all of Europe. Other influential schoolmen, including Hugo Ripelin of Strasbourg (1210-c.1270), repeated this conflation.[96] Above all, this story would function in relation to events so incomprehensible to European observers that only received apocalyptic categories sufficed to make sense of them.[97] Matthew of Paris (1200-1259) used the

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95. Cf. the accusations made by Matthew of Paris concerning a 'Jewish conspiracy' to aid the Mongols in 1241, discussed in this chapter, *infra*.

96. See his *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, which reports both a neutral and the prevailing negative interpretation of the role of this people at the end of time: Appendix B, no. 18. The *Compendium* is cited incorrectly by Anderson, following the attribution current in his day, as the work of Albertus Magnus (c.1200-1280): *Alexander's Gate*, 62.

97. See H.M. Schaller, "Endzeit-Erwartungen und Antichrist-Vorstellungen in der Politik des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: M. Kerner, ed., *Ideologie und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*

Historia Scholastica when he derived the origins of the Mongols or Tatars, who invaded Europe in 1240/41 and who he thought would devastate the world at the end of time, from the Ten Tribes, even though he knew the Tatars had no Jewish customs or knowledge.[98] They simply had degenerated from Mosaic Judaism, and were hiding their true nature.[99]

Matthew also recounts a tale according to which European Jewry was overjoyed by the news that the Tatars or Mongols were coming, as they saw in them their long-lost cousins, the Ten Tribes of Israel.[100] He claims that a number of Jews made

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(Wege der Forschung, vol. 530; Darmstadt 1982), 303-331.

[98]. *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard (Rolls Series), 5 vols., London 1861-1877, IV, 77f. Cited from Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 70-71. See Appendix B, no. 20 for the Latin text. See also J.J. Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols", in: *Essays in Medieval History*. Presented to B. Wilkenson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) 116-132; the most useful recent general work is by G.A. Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220-1270). Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen* (Berne/Munich 1974). Another contemporary observer, Richer of Sens, wrote that in 1241, many believed the Mongols to be the Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander in the Caspian Mountains: "alii vero asserebant eos [Tartarinos] Judaeos illos esse quos f[u]erunt ab Alexandro Magno intra Caspios montes quondam inclusos"; cited from Harry Breßlau, "Juden und Mongolen 1241", in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 1 (1887), 99-102, here 100-101 and 101, note 1.

[99]. See Appendix B, no. 20, lines 13-19.

[100]. Harry Breßlau, "Juden und Mongolen 1241", 99-101. Breßlau cites Matthew's *Chronica maiora* (ed. H.R. Luard, Rerum Brittanicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series), vol. IV, 121: "...multi Judaeorum de partibus transmarinis, praecipue autem de imperio, credentes quod plebs Tartarorum et Cumanorum essent de genere eorum, quos dominus in montibus Caspiis

an attempt to smuggle weapons in great wine-barrels to the Mongols, on the pretext that the Mongols were also Jews and would drink only wine made by Jews. The Jews said the wine was poisoned. However, they were caught and burned. The details are drawn from a tradition of Trojan-horse tales about the smuggling of soldiers and weapons in great wine-barrels,[1] so it is patently false (from our perspective) -- but it would have been entirely credible, because 'well-known', to contemporaries. Matthew's story supports the notion that some contemporary European Jews believed the Mongols to be the Ten Tribes (their saviors),[2] just as Christians believed them to

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precibus Magni Alexandri quondam inclusit, convenerunt in loco secretissimo". They came together in secret to consult over how best to help the Mongols and damage the Christians. Cohn's argument still holds true; here, the real Jews of Europe are associated with peoples held by them to be the Ten Tribes in an anti-Christian conspiracy. It is not out of place to note that European Jews might well rejoice over the prospect of Mongol government, which did not concern itself with the religious affiliation of subject peoples -- beside the fact that they would naturally welcome an army composed of the Ten Tribes.

1. These tales are cited by Breßlau, "Juden und Mongolen 1241", 100.

2. Another contemporary source makes the same charge: the annalist of the cloister of Marbach writes in 1222 concerning the rumors reaching the West about the Mongols: "Unum tamen scimus, quod Judaeorum gens super eodem rumore ingenti laetitia exultabant et vehementer sibi applaudebant, nescio quid de futura libertate sua ex hoc provenire sibi sperantes. Unde et regem illius multitudinis filium David appellabant." in: *MGH Scriptores* XVII [Annales aevi Suevici], ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (1861), "Annales Marbachienses" for the year 1222, 174; cited from Breßlau, *Juden und Mongolen 1241*, 100, notes 3 and 4. Breßlau cites Zarncke's explanation of the

be Gog and Magog/the Ten Tribes (apocalyptic destroyers). The Jews never confused the Ten Tribes with Gog and Magog. European Jews of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not tire of interpreting the latest events as a sign that the Ten Tribes were coming to rescue them from their captivity; in the fourteenth century, the same expectation is attributed to the Jews in the unremittingly popular and much-translated *Mandeville's Travels*.[3]

Many other observers interpreted what they saw of the Tatars and the snippets of information that reached the west concerning them as signs that the Tatars were indeed the Ten

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origin of the appellation 'son of David' for the king of the Mongols: in 1221, in a pamphlet designed to encourage the crusaders encamped at Damietta, Jacques de Vitry had called the ruler of India "David rex Indorum". He was supposed to be the great-grandson of Prester John who had great power and would help the Christians. A scribal error in copies sent to the University of Paris and to Duke Leopold of Austria read: "David rex Iudeorum", introducing in a seemingly unimpeachable form the 'news' of the coming appearance in the west of the king of the Jews. (Breßlau, *Juden und Mongolen 1241*, 101).

3. See Appendix B, no. 30 for the relevant section, taken for convenience of citation and reference from the late-fourteenth-century middle English translation -- which is quite faithful, except for the occasional mistranslation, to the middle French original of Jean d'Outremeuse. There is no modern critical edition of the French original. See the Introduction of P. Hamelius to *Mandeville's Travels translated from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse*, edited from Ms. Cotton Titus c.XVI, British Museum 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1923; = Early English Text Society, 154), 18-19.

Tribes, or the unclean peoples enclosed by Alexander.[74] Tales recounting the cannibalism supposedly practised by the Tatars, and accusing them of eating 'frogs, snakes, dogs and unclean animals' as well as the nipples of captured women, circulated widely:[75] here was proof that the invaders were the universally-known 'unclean nations' described in the *Revelationes* of the Pseudo-Methodius and in the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor -- and therefore Gog, Magog and the Ten Tribes. The name of a river in the country of the Tatars was heard as 'Egog' by a Hungarian bishop who interrogated two Tatar prisoners, and through the filters that protected him from the unknown and supplied him with logical possibilities to interpret the unfamiliar, he decided they were of the people 'Gog and Magog'.[76]

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[74]. For a detailed overview of thirteenth-century reactions to the Tatar invasions and an analysis of the scholastic modes and categories of perception that precluded a factual appreciation of the Tatars as a people like any other, see Johannes Fried, "Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit. Die Mongolen und die europäische Erfahrungswissenschaft im 13. Jahrhundert", in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 243 (1986), 287-332. See also Arturo Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo con un'appendice sulla leggende di Gog e Magog* (Torino: Arnaldo Forni, 1987/reprint of 1923 edition), 754-800; on the Tatars, 790-795, with special reference to Italian sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[75]. Fried, "Auf der Suche", 297.

[76]. "Doch kaum glaubt der Bischof 'Gog' zu hören, schiebt sich zwischen die realistischen Fragen und die sachlichen Antworten das Filter des Endzeitdramas, in denen Gog und Magog ihre Rolle spielen. [...] Das Untersuchungsinstrumentarium des

The distortion 'Tartars' for the tribe of the *Tha-Ta* or 'Tatars', suggested by Frederick II in his appeal to Christendom of 3 July, 1241,[7] was echoed by St. Louis[8] and taken up again by Ricold of Montecroix in his early-fourteenth-century *Itinerarium*, where he says "l'orrible et merveilleuse gent des Tartares" are similar "aux diablez d'Enfer", and asks whether they are not indeed descended from the Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander, who will come out at the end of the world and do great damage to people and countries.

The apocalyptic and more generally theological filter through which these influential personalities drew their perceptions of the world around them and of secular events is much in evidence here, as is Comestor, one major element of this filter. His influence was such that some of the papal

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erstaunlich systematischen Fragens paßt sich dem Filter des Vorwissens an und unmerklich wird eine zweite Frageebene bezogen. [...] [Da] erkundigt der Bischof sich nach Speisevorschriften. Die Antwort befriedigt: sie essen, was die eingeschlossenen Judenvölker zu essen haben: Schlangen und Hunde etc." Fried, "Auf der Suche", 300-301.

7. The 'Tartars' are to go back to 'Tartarus', where they came from: Bernard Teyssèdre, *Le Diable et l'Enfer au temps de Jésus* (Paris 1985), esp. ch. 6, "Maures ou Mores, Tatars ou Tartates: le Diable, c'est l'Autre", 280-287; here 282.

8. "... vel nos [subject] ipsos [object, to which following clause is in apposition], quos vocamos Tartaros, ad suas Tartareas sedes unde exierunt, retrudemus, vel ipsi nos omnes ad caelum subvehent", reported by Matthew of Paris, *Chronica maiora* IV, 111; cited by Fried, *Auf der Suche*, 295, note 35. The syntax of the first subject/object pair "vel nos ipsos" is repeated in chiasmus "vel ipsi nos omnes".

legates sent to look for the Tatars by Innocent IV[79] carried the *Historia Scholastica* with them as a guide, in order to compare what they found with the written word of authority: Comestor influenced the way these learned explorers perceived the world.[80]

Yet not everyone swallowed the story whole just because it was in the *Historia Scholastica*. Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190-1264) repeats the passage from Comestor almost word-for-word in his *Speculum historiale*. However, in a subsequent portion of this work, he subjects the story to critical scrutiny and settles on the less-elaborate version retailed by Pseudo-Methodius. The nations Alexander enclosed were not Jews, but 'unclean and horrible' cannibals; neither does Vincent identify these with Gog and Magog.[81] Here, a learned

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[79]. Four missions were to look for the Tatars, discover their goals, and gather the sort of information necessary to combat or approach them; they covered the area from Kiev to northern Iraq: Fried, "Auf der Suche", 302-303, esp. note 65.

[80]. The Dominicans who went to Tiflis (Georgia) and Fr. Ascelin all carried the *Historia Scholastica* (see Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Appendix B, no. 24); William of Rubruk took Peter Lombard's Sentence Commentary as far as the Mongol 'capital' Caracorum (Fried, "Auf der Suche", 304 and note 70). These works were part of the scholarly and intellectual arsenal with which these Europeans confronted the realities of Asia.

[81]. Cited by Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 71, *Speculum Historiale* IV (V), cap. xliii, 42b. Vincent insists that the brothers of his order who visited Georgia and the area near the Caspian asked diligently of all the inhabitants, and all, even the Jews, reported that they had never heard of Alexander enclosing Jews in the mountains; rather, they also had written

Christian with a critical attitude has access to sources that seem to clear up the mystery.

The Parisian doctor of theology Hugo a Novo Castro (sometimes called Hugh of Newcastle, but also Hughes de Châteauneuf; fl. c. 1320)[12] repeats Comestor's story about the Ten Tribes re-enclosed by Alexander, but immediately provides a critique of it. Perhaps in reliance on Hugh of St. Cher (c.1200-c.1263),[13] Hugo a Novo Castro agrees with Augustine

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sources that related the enclosure of 'quosdam immundos et horribiles' who eat other people and each other. See Appendix B, no. 24 for the text.

[12]. *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum*, composed in 1319 (published at Nuremberg in 1471; Hain 8993; Wolfenbüttel Li 4° 193: there are two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), cap. xi, "de exitu decem tribuum de loco captivitatis eorum" and cap. xii, "de gog et magog". For the Latin text see Appendix B, no. 26. Very little has been written about Hugh, at least in part because not much is known about him. See Ch. V. Langlois, "Hugo de Novocastro or de Castronovo, Frater Minor", in: *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. A.G. Little and F.N. Powicke (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1967²/1925), 269-275. Langlois lists the extant manuscripts of the *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum* on page 272, note 1, and dates the work to 1319 from the author's own information, in book ii, cap. 26: "Fluxerunt autem modo, scilicet hoc quo factus est ille libellus, a Nativitate Christi MCCC et decem et novem anni." (272). Langlois notes that his colleague Barthélemy Hauréau, in comformity with the then-current opinion concerning apocalyptic thought, called it an "opuscule tout à fait insignifiant, c'est à dire digne du sujet, et plein de billevesées." However, Hauréau approved of and published Hugh's scathing 'Memorial on the Sale of Indulgences' (B.N. MS Lat. 16089).

[13]. See his *Postillae in Bibliam* (Basel: Amerbach, 1504), on Ezekiel 38, fol. 239ᵛ, F: "Omnis enim multitudo reproborum per eos [Gog et Magog] intellegitur. Vicesimo libro de

and Jerome in identifying Gog and Magog not with any one people of a given nation, but as names representative of all the 'perverse nations' that will attack the 'sancti' at the time of the Antichrist.[14] He rejects the idea of "aliqui ... moderni non parve auctoritatis" (some modern authors of no little authority) who think Gog and Magog are the Tatars, or the Ten Tribes: "Illud tamen authenticum fundamentum non habet" -- this story has no solid grounding in fact.[15] Hugo a Novo Castro was thinking of a biblical foundation, which this conflation indeed lacks. Yet he was a child of his time, and like Hugh of St. Cher, he does say that the Ten Tribes, understood either literally or allegorically as Gog and Magog, will come out and join with the 'perverse peoples' who in their turn will afflict the Church of Christ at the end of time, 'just as Methodius prophecies'. These learned commentators, who were well acquainted with the Bible and more concerned with such details than were the courtly

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civitate dei dicit Augustinus quod dicit Hieronymus. Gog et magog ecclesiam dei persecuturos non sic intellegitur tanquam isti sint aliqui in aliquam parte terrarum barbari constituti: sed per eos malorum universitas intellegitur. [...] Tangit secundum quosdam hic quod predicte due gentes [Gog et Magog] modo dicuntur incluse sicut et decem tribus: sed tunc exibunt cum antichristo." For the entire passage, see Appendix B, no. 17.

14. Hugh, *Tractatus*, fol. 3^{r}, 42 - 8^{v}, 5.

15. Hugh, *Tractatus*, fol. 8^{v}, 13-17.

littérateurs, rejected the identification of the apocalyptic peoples Gog and Magog with the Ten Tribes or any other 'particular nation'. Their cool erudition, which produced a dispassionate, even scientific view, went unheeded down the ages. Centuries would pass before vernacular letters[46] -- never mind the common people -- gave up the idea that Alexander enclosed the evil Ten Tribes (who are Gog and Magog) in the 'Caspian Mountains'.

According to Anderson, from the time of Comestor "the reclusion of the tribes of Israel by Alexander had become almost a commonplace in the literature of the Middle Ages".[47] Anderson cites the influence of Comestor in the works of Vincent of Beauvais and others who wrote in Latin, without mentioning their criticism of Comestor's tale.[48] Anderson does mention a few vernacular texts from the later Middle Ages that contain the conflation,[49] but neglects almost entirely the important medieval vernacular tradition that helped to carry the 'Gog and Magog equals the Ten Tribes' conflation into later centuries all over Europe, especially in Germany. Here,

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[46]. Even Latin works that referred to this topic would continue to draw on Comestor and ignore Vincent, Hugh and Hugo.

[47]. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 71-72.

[48]. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 68-71.

[49]. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 72, note 1.

a wide variety of textual genres demonstrate the extraordinary hold which the Alexander material had over the historical and literary imagination of the time. In what follows, the most important German transmitters of the story in which Alexander encloses the Ten Tribes (Gog and Magog) will be reviewed briefly in order to establish the indispensable background to the later medieval legend of the Red Jews.

The Saxon Chronicle of Eike von Repgow,[30] written in the first half of the thirteenth century, follows Comestor in identifying the Ten Tribes as the peoples enclosed by Alexander, but does not mention Gog and Magog. The same is true of courtly letters in the early thirteenth century. In the *Alexander* of Rudolf von Ems (written between 1220 and the 1250s), both Gog and Magog and the Ten Tribes are said to have been enclosed by Alexander, though in different places.[31] Rudolf acknowledges his ancient and Latin sources (Josephus,

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[30]. The Sächsische Weltchronik, published as *Das Zeitbuch des Eike von Repgow in ursprünglich niederdeutscher Sprache und in früher lateinischer Übersetzung*, ed. H.F. Massmann (Stuttgart 1857; = Bibliothek des Litterarische Vereins in Stuttgart, 215); also published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores qui vernacula lingua usi sunt. Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde (Hannover 1877/reprint 1980), vol. II, 77-78. See Appendix B, no. 19 for the German text and translation.

[31]. Rudolf von Ems, *Alexander. Ein höfischer Versroman des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Victor Junk (Leipzig 1929; = Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 274), part 2, books 4-6: verses 13,039-13,046 and 16,837-16,996. For texts and translations see Appendix B, no. 21.

Rufus Curtius, Augustine, Jerome, Pseudo-Methodius), which helps to explain why he adopts Comestor's version to the point of having Alexander enclose the Ten Tribes, but not to the point of identifying them with Gog and Magog. By the later thirteenth century, this caution was no longer characteristic of German literature.

In his *Alexander*, written between 1271 and 1286, Ulrich von Eschenbach equates the Ten Tribes with 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander'[92] in a passage strongly reminiscent of the *Historia Scholastica*. He accuses these 'Jews' (the Ten Tribes) of the same 'uncleanness' as ascribed to the wild peoples by Pseudo-Methodius (*gentes immundas*), and even calls them 'children of the Devil' and 'horrid evil ones',[93] a marked parallel to the appellations applied not long before to the Tatars, and again by Ricold de Montecroix a few decades later.[94] These antisemitic portrayals seem to be a combination

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[92]. *Alexander*, ed. Wendelin Toischer, Tübingen 1888 (=*BLVS*, 183), 556, v. 209002f. For the middle High German text and an English translation, see Appendix B, no. 25.

[93]. See Appendix B, no. 25, lines 20909, 20922 and 20939.

[94]. Bernard Teyssèdre notes: "La variable, c'est la désignation de l'ennemi, du peuple impie qui est monté du Tartare, qui va déferler sur le monde avec Gog et Magog. Tour à tour il a pris le visage d'Ethiopien, de Sarrazin, de Mongol. Son complice n'a pas changé, c'est le Juif. Race "noire et enténébrée par la malice", disait Origène, voici la Synagogue aux yeux bandés, l'émissaire du Satan more, les dix tribus aux aguets dans leur prison transcaspienne." (*Le Diable*, 286). Teyssèdre lumps all these 'others' together as 'dark' and 'marked by the Devil'; and this is doubtless true.

of 1) a pervasive, ubiquitous and persistent prejudice and hatred and 2) the vile characteristics available from the exegetical and literary traditions, including Ulrich's main source, the Old French *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon.[35] In German-language texts, the adjective *unrein* -- meaning not just unclean but foul and unnatural[36] -- came to be associated with the Ten Tribes and the Red Jews. As R.I. Moore has shown,

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Yet what Teyssèdre misses is that the Ten Tribes are not 'accomplices' of any other demonic people, not since Comestor: to many, they were the apocalyptic people. And as we shall see, these 'Jews' were not generally conceived of (at least in the German-speaking lands) as dark, but as red -- altogether a different negatively-laden colour.

[35]. See *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Karl Langosch (Berlin 1953), vol. IV, 572-577, for details of Walter's influence on Ulrich, and for some of the older literature. Comestor's influence is also unmistakable here.

[36]. *Unraine/unreine* meant unclean, evil, unjust, faithless, unchaste; concerning specific sins, it could mean sodomy or bestiality; as a substantive, it meant the Devil. Cf. Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch* (Stuttgart 1983[37]/ Hildesheim 1882), 255. See also Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, vol. II (Leipzig 1876), col. 1926: *unrein/-e* means "nicht rein, eig[entlich] und bildl[ich] (nicht gut, böse, unrecht, treulos, unkeusch)": not clean, actually and figuratively; not good, evil, unjust, faithless, unchaste. In older German, the word *unhrênia, unhreini* meant *immundus, sordidus, inquinatus*, "nicht keusch; gemein, gewöhnlich": unclean, filthy, besmirched, unchaste, mean, common: Oskar Schade, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. II (Halle 1872-1882/reprint Hildesheim 1969), 1036; and "unheilig, böse, verworfen, verrucht, schändlich, abscheulich": unholy, evil, reprobate, scandalous, shameful, repulsive: Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. XI, section III (Leipzig 1936), col. 1266-1267; the prime example is the old High German expression *unhrênia sespilon*, an unholy [because heathen] burial party or wake.

a 'language of defilement' was used in the Middle Ages to describe heretical beliefs in terms of disease:

> "My suggestion is that, in its small way, the image [of disease] helped puzzled observers, and especially those of a more speculative inclination, to create an explanation of the mysterious and alarming events which they saw, or of which they heard rumors."[97]

The 'language of defilement' combines moral and esthetic categories to express and reproduce in the audience both kinds of revulsion; this symbiosis is common to the use of the traditional term *unrein* and to the description of heresy as leprosy, cancer or plague. Moreover, there is a powerful literary authority inherent in the term *immundas gentes*, which characterized the nations enclosed by Alexander even before they were identified with Gog and Magog. The notion that the Ten Tribes/Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander were 'unclean' (foul and unnatural) was to be central to all future versions of this tale in German letters.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the Ten Tribes were firmly identified with Gog and Magog, via their supposed enclosure by Alexander. The rather crude vernacular rhyming work of Hebrew Bible exegesis known as the *Historien der alden*

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[97]. R.I. Moore, "Heresy as Disease", in: *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages, 11th-13th Centuries*, ed. W. Lourdeau and D. Verhelst (The Hague, 1976), 1-11; 11.

E,[98] written between 1338 and 1345, cites Comestor in two lines, stating only that the Ten Tribes were enclosed by Alexander. The poet Seifrit based his *Alexander* (finished in 1352),[99] a polished work very different from the preceding, on the Latin *Historia de preliis*. The nations Alexander encloses are said to be *unrein*; they will come out of their prison to make war on Christendom with the Antichrist, before the Last Day.

The relevant passage in the contemporary, but much more popular compilation known as *Mandeville's Travels* (c. 1357) demonstrates that the Comestorine story of the Ten Tribes *qua* Gog and Magog took on a life of its own in the later Middle Ages, and penetrated every corner of Europe.[100] "The Jews of the Ten Tribes, whom men call Goth and Magoth"[101] were

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[98]. Ed. Wilhelm Gerhard (Leipzig 1927), 132, vv. 4733-4734: These two lines are part of a very short digresssion concerning Alexander: "Zen geslechte, daz ist bloz, / Alexander in besloz." (Ten Tribes, that is all, / Alexander enclosed.)

[99]. *Seifrits Alexander aus der Strassburger Handschrift*, ed. Paul Gereke (Berlin 1932; = Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 36). For the manuscript tradition and dating, see page v of the introduction. For the passage and a translation, see Appendix B, no. 27.

[100]. Ed. M.C. Seymour (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1967), 192-194. See Appendix B, no. 30 for the text.

[101]. "Iewes of x. lynages, that men clepen Goth and Magoth." In the medieval French tradition, Gog and Magog were often called 'Gos et Margos' or 'Goth et Magoth'. See Appendix B, no. 30, lines 3-4.

enclosed in the 'Caspian Mountains' by 'King Alexander' with God's help: "It is said that they shall go out at the time of the Antichrist, and slaughter Christians in great numbers."[102] For this reason, all Jews that dwell in all countries speak Hebrew, the only language spoken by the Ten Tribes,

> "in the hope that when the other Jews go out, they [the Jews of Europe] may understand their language in order to lead them [of Caspia] into Christendom to destroy the Christians. For the Jews say that they know well by their prophecies that the Jews of Caspia will go out and spread throughout the entire world, and that Christians will be subject to them for as long as the Jews have been subject to the Christians."[103]

This is a conspiracy theory of the first order; the only reason the 'real' Jews learn Hebrew is to communicate with their apocalyptic confederates from the East for the purpose of destroying Christendom.

Comestor's conflation made its way into the French Alexander novel as well. As late as the early fifteenth century, a vernacular French Alexander depicted the Ten Tribes as having been enclosed in the Caspian Mountains by

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[102]. *Mandeville's Travels*, 193, 19-21: "... men seyn thei schulle gon out in the tyme of Antecrist, and that thei schulle maken gret slaughter of Cristene men."

[103]. *Mandeville's Travels*, 193, 22-28; Appendix B, no. 30. Here is a clear example of the sort of conspiracy for the domination of Christendom already being imputed to the Jews and their Asiatic cousins in the fourteenth century.

Alexander.[104]

The middle Low German and middle High German *Historienbibeln* (Historiated Bibles) of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries served to recount biblical history to the laity in the same way as one of their principal sources, the *Historia Scholastica*, did for the learned.[105] The Alexander section in the Historiated Bible I,[106] as in the middle Dutch *sielen trost* (1370) and the other Historiated Bibles, follows the *Historia Scholastica* closely.

This first variant of the Comestor tradition was common to all of Europe, including Germany. It is represented in Latin and vernacular versions. The Ten Tribes were held, by

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[104]. See the *Legende d'Alexandre* after Jacques van Maerlant, 1431, in the Royal Library, Brussels, 9018-9, esp. fol. 7.

[105]. For this episode in the middle High German Historiated Bibles, see Theodor Merzdorf, *Die deutschen Historienbibeln des Mittelalters nach vierzig Handschriften* (Tübingen 1870; = Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, C-CI); *Historienbibel I*, CI, 551-552; *Historienbibel IIb*, C, 71; *Historienbibel III*, C, 87. The source of the episode in the middle Low German Historiated Bibles was the middle Low German *Seelentrost* of 1380: see the edition of Margarete Schmitt, *Der Grosse Seelentrost. Ein niederdeutsches Erbauungsbuch des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Cologne/Graz, 1959). See also D.J.A. Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands*. A study in comparative iconography (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1971) and H. Vollmer, *Ober- und Mitteldeutsche Historienbibeln* in *Materialien zur Bibelgeschichte und religiösen Volkskunde des Mittelalters*, vols. I-IV (Berlin 1912-29).

[106]. See Appendix B, no. 29 for text and translation.

the thirteenth century, to have been enclosed -- or rather, re-enclosed -- by Alexander the Great. This confusion bred more confusion, namely that the Ten Tribes were Gog and Magog, the people 'originally' (sic) enclosed by Alexander. This tradition would function throughout the Middle Ages in the Alexander material, in commentary on the Ten Tribes, and in apocalyptic contexts. Parallel to this conflation, the story of Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander, itself the product of a previous conflation, continued to be influential and to find expression in both Latin and vernacular texts (e.g., in later manuscripts and early printings of the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius.

Where the Ten Tribes are assumed to be Gog and Magog (because enclosed by Alexander), antisemitic attitudes coincide with apocalyptic traditions. In *Mandeville's Travels*, the Jews of Europe are charged with a conspiratorial perfidy that relates directly to the apocalyptic role of 'the Jews of the Ten Tribes whom men call Goth and Magoth'. The many German translations of *Mandeville's Travels*, especially in the fifteenth century, bear witness to its immense influence on the Continent. Evidence adduced in the next chapter shows that the Jews of Europe were believed to be in contact with the Red Jews for the purpose of causing the Black Death. The belief betrayed by Matthew of Paris in the link between the Jews of Europe and the Ten Tribes was not an isolated scholarly quirk.

The result is a composite antisemitic (not anti-Judaic!) apocalypticism based on a willingness to ascribe to Jews -- whether real Jews or the fabled Ten Tribes, who are believed to be in league and in contact with each other -- the worst possible motives in the here and now and the worst possible role at the end of time. Far from 'chimeric fantasies', accusations both of cannibalism and of evil designs on Christendom are part of a larger context of antisemitic and apocalyptic propaganda that finds manifold expression in vernacular texts, far from the critical eye of trained scholars. Here, the Jews are both an immediate and an apocalyptic threat to Christendom; they are in league with the Devil and with the Antichrist.

IV: THE RED JEWS IN THEIR 'NATIVE HABITAT'

Stories about the Ten Tribes, Gog and Magog and 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander' were handed down throughout the Middle Ages both in their original contexts (Jewish, Biblical, literary) and in the relatively 'new' tradition of Comestor's conflation. Generally, no clear distinction was made between, say, the Comestorine version and that of Pseudo-Methodius or the Bible -- except by certain critical scholars, such as Hugh of Novo Castro or Vincent of Beauvais. In vernacular letters, such distinctions as were made in the early thirteenth century between 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander' and 'the Ten Tribes (re-)enclosed by Alexander' (e.g., the *Saxon Chronicle*) soon disappeared. Our task is to unravel strands that generally were not perceived or understood as separate; in so doing, we will inevitably distort the mental world of those who used these 'strands' in their work. A magnifying glass not only picks out discrete parts of the whole, it distorts them as well. With that caution in mind, and with the knowledge that the *Revelationes* of the Pseudo-Methodius and the *Historia de preliis* of the Archipresbyter Leo were in abundant circulation throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, presenting alternative visions of Gog and Magog, Alexander, the Ten Tribes and the End of Time, we are well-equipped for the dissecting work that should yield, at the end, not merely the several joints and empty carcasses of our texts, but a larger,

better focused and more integrated -- albeit synthetic and highly selective -- picture of the meaning and role of the Red Jews in medieval society than was available to contemporaries.

Enough evidence concerning the links supposed by Christians to exist between the apocalyptic Ten Tribes and the hated Jews of Europe has been adduced in the previous chapter to prove there was an intimate connection between antisemitism and apocalyptic expectation as early as the twelfth century.

The first tradition to come out of Comestor's conflation was an important carrier of ethnic and apocalyptic Jew-hatred. Unlike Aristotle, who was 'baptized' by scholastic thinkers, the Ten Tribes were anathematized in Christian sources both Latin and vernacular as Gog and Magog, the evil, cannibalistic destroyers.

The second tradition engendered by Comestor's conflation was a German variant of the Ten Tribes legend. The Red Jews are, in a sense, the Ten Tribes; like the Ten Tribes, they are generally identified with Gog and Magog, and they are characterized as *unrein* (foul), savage and deceitful.

In the German literary and exegetical traditions, Comestor's 'conflated peoples' are called the Red Jews, especially in vernacular sources that are at some remove from learned discourse and expert knowledge of the Bible. 'Red Jews' is the term used in many, perhaps even most German-

language treatments of the topic from the late twelfth to the late sixteenth century.[1] In the fifteenth century, the cresting wave of popular apocalypticism that appears most clearly in the German *Antichrist* book used the term Red Jews to describe the apocalyptic Asiatic associates of the Antichrist.[2] In this vernacular work, the idea of the Ten Tribes and the image of Gog and Magog have been smelted into a particularly German alloy, leaving little room for the biblically-based critique of the medieval commentators. These *Antichrist* books draw on the vernacular tradition characteristic of the typical German reception of Comestor's conflation.

1. The Middle Ages See Red: The Moral View

Medieval Christianity was not favorably disposed to any Jews, except perhaps Jesus and the prophets -- if they were recognized as Jews. Where does the color 'red' fit in? Ruth

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1. This is an estimate based on my assessment of the sources; an exhaustive listing of all the relevant passages and a corresponding statistical breakdown is an appealing prospect but beyond the scope of the present study.

2. A hodge-podge of Sibylline prophecy, the Alexander story, and popular exegesis of biblical passages based in part on Hugo Ripelin's thirteenth-century *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, the *Antichrist* book was a major player -- alongside Passion Plays and other popular theatrical genres -- in anti-Semitic apocalyptic expectation all through the fifteenth century. See the brief discussion toward the end of this chapter. See chapter V for a more extended treatment of the *Antichrist* book in context.

Mellinkoff has shown that a deep-seated prejudice against red hair ran like a thread of the same color through ancient and medieval culture.[3] People with red hair were thought to be "false, dangerous, tricky, shameless, over-sexed, deceitful, hot-tempered, unfaithful, foolish, war-like, crude, vulgar, low-class and unlucky for those who meet them".[4] Not surprisingly Judas was often portrayed in medieval religious art as having red hair. The Grimm brothers report that in medieval Germany, red hair and a red beard were signs of a false and duplicitous nature;[5] a 'red man' ("ein roter") was a man with red hair and a red beard. Verse 2842 of the poem *Wigalois* reports that it is said of men with red hair and beard that their heart is wicked.[6]

In middle High German, *rot* (red) had an important

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[3]. Red-heads are a minority in all societies and ethnic groups, and minority features, like minorities, are suspect, she argues. "Judas's Red Hair and the Jews", in: *Journal of Jewish Art* 9 (1982), 31-46.

[4]. Mellinkoff, *Judas*, 32.

[5]. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* VIII (Leipzig, 1893), 1296.

[6]. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1296:
"im was der bart und daz har
beidiu rot, viurvar.
von den selben hoere ich sagen
daz si valschiu herze tragen."

secondary meaning: duplicitous, wicked, faithless, cunning.[3] The name given to the language of beggars and thieves, *Rotwelsch*, reflects the notion of falseness. According to Friedrich Kluge, the element 'welsch' in 'Rotwelsch' refers to a Latinic, therefore incomprehensible, language, and 'rot' to falseness, wickedness, faithlessness;[4] the term 'rotwalsch' appears as early as 1250 in the figurative sense of words with a secret or sinister meaning.[5] Therefore, the word 'Rotwelsch' dates from about the same time as the first use of the term Red Jews: this is one possible, even probable, model for its construction. The history of German usage leads us to the conclusion that the 'Red Jews' were in physical terms Jews who bore the mark of red hair and red beards -- because they were morally degenerate. As it happens, the sources support this

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[3]. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*, ed. Wolfgang Pfeifer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1989, vol. 3, 1442, lemma 'rot'; "Die Farbbezeichnung ahd. *rot* (8.Jh.), mhd. *rot*, auch 'falsch, listig'...". Keith Spalding does not include this usage in his *A Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage* (Oxford 1952ff.); it is therefore not surprising that he has no entry for 'rote Juden'.

[4]. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Berlin/New York, 1989[22], 606. Siegmund A. Wolf also notes in his *Wörterbuch des Rotwelschen. Deutsche Gaunersprache* (Mannheim, 1956) that 'rot' had in medieval German the secondary meaning "falsch, ungetreu" (duplicitous, faithless), and that Pamphilius Gengenbach, in his treatment of Rotwelsch, sometimes calls the language of the fraudulent beggars simply "rot" instead of 'rotwelsch', to emphasize the dishonest nature of this way of speaking (270).

[5]. Wolf, *Wörterbuch des Rotwelschen*, 270.

conclusion.

Jews often were portrayed by medieval illustrations in Christian texts with red hair and in red clothes. Thérèse and Mendel Metzger even note in their book on the illuminations in medieval Hebrew manuscripts[10] that in 1360, the Jewish men of Rome were required to wear a short red tabard, and Jewish women a red skirt.[11] There is less definite though quite suggestive evidence to be culled from the illustrations of medieval Hebrew manuscripts reproduced in color by the Metzgers. At least half these illustrations represent Jews, female and male, with red hair or red hair and beard, or red hair and red clothes, or simply in red clothes. There seems to have been a particular link between Jews and the color red in hair. This is a connection so widely-accepted as to be included prominently in illustrations of Hebrew manuscripts, though in such cases, these depictions presumably lacked or did not evoke the negative associations generally marked by red hair.[12] The Jews by whom these manuscripts were made and for whom they were intended seem to have attached no negative

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[10]. *La vie juive au moyen âge illustrée par les manuscrits hébraïques enlumninés du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1982).

[11]. 142.

[12]. In similar fashion, Jewish folklore would later adopt the German term 'Red Jews' as a name for the Ten Tribes of Jewish legend, without adopting the hostile associations that produced and sustained the legend in Christian Germany.

significance to the color red. Yet as we have seen, Christian iconography 'saw red' in connection with Judas. The Metzgers' manuscript illuminations suggest that to Jews as to Christians, Jews were typically red-headed and wore red clothes; it was taken for granted.[13] The Metzgers were concerned with other topics, but it is remarkable that they do not comment on this colorful attribute.

Besides sometimes being assimilated to purple, the color of royalty, red symbolized sin or sinfulness among medieval Jews as well as Christians. In the Leipzig Machsor, which dates to the second or third decade of the 14th century[14], a red elephant is depicted at the foot of a page of text, between two dragons.[15] Schreiner notes that although the symbolic significance of the other animals is clear, the

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[13]. See also the discussion in chapter VI of the pamphlet "Die geschicht unnd bekanntnuß des getaufften Juden/genannt Johannes Pfefferkorn" (1514/15) Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HBK 142, a polemical broadside aimed from the Reuchlin camp at the Cologne 'Obscure Men' and their 'tame Jew' Pfefferkorn. Of a number of children who were to be murdered to obtain their blood, the supposed 'Pfefferkorn' says under torture that one with red hair was allowed to go free - presumably because he was a Jew. Again, this proves that contemporary Christians associated red hair with Jewishness.

[14]. *Das Lied der Lieder von Schelomo. Liebeslyrik aus dem alten Israel*, mit 32 illuminierten Seiten aus dem Machsor Lipsiae, trans. and ed. by Stefan Schreiner (Leipzig and Weimar 1985[2]); dating 103-104.

[15]. *Das Lied der Lieder*, Schreiner, ill. 28 (codex: fol. 174[r]).

meaning of the red elephant is not. He surmises that the elephant refers to a Talmud passage in which a particular school (Pumbeditha, in Babylon) is criticized as lax and over-subtle to the point of duplicitousness: "You are probably from Pumbeditha, those who would let an elephant pass through the eye of a needle". Red symbolizes sin, and the red elephant warns the sinner to make amends: otherwise he will not be allowed through the gates of heaven, just as 'an elephant cannot pass through the eye of a needle'.[16]

In the Donaueschingen Passion Play of the later 15th century, "the Jews" (i.e., the stage Jews caricatured by Christian actors), depicted in the worst possible light as blasphemers of Jesus, accuse Jesus of having a red beard, just like the traitor Judas.[17] This was apparently the worst possible attribute that contemporary German Christians could impute to a despised person.

Hitherto overlooked persuasive pictorial evidence establishes a firm connection between Jews, particularly the

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[16]. *The Babylonian Talmud*, Baba Mezia [Metsia], ed. Rabbi Isidore Epstein, trans. H. Freedman (London: The Soncino Press, 1935), 38b: "Perhaps you are from Pumbeditha, he retorted, where they draw an elephant through the eye of a needle." Freedman's note is that the scholars of Pumbeditha were 'extremely subtle'. Schreiner, *Das Lied der Lieder*, 107-108.

[17]. Cf. Antonius Touber, ed., *Das Donaueschinger Passionsspiel. Nach der Handschrift mit Einleitung und Kommentar*. Stuttgart: Reclam 1985 (Reclam Universal-Bibliothek, 3046), v. 2697.

legendary Ten Tribes, and the color red in a 15th century manuscript Historiated Bible.[18] Only the Jews, who are here the Ten Tribes, have red hair and beards; Alexander and his men have fair hair and beards. The universally-suspected minority characteristic of red hair was used in Christian iconography and texts to create a pejorative designation for a despised minority group, an effective way to label evil and devalue those thus marked. Until the late fifteenth century, the 'Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander' typically appear under the name Red Jews in German-language apocalyptic. However, over the course of the first half of the sixteenth century, the term Red Jews is increasingly applied to the Biblical Ten Tribes, though Alexander's role never entirely disappears. These exotic eastern Jews later come to be represented as allies of the Christians against the Turks, not as apocalyptic destroyers.

2. The Textual Tradition

So far as my research has been able to uncover, only

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[18]. A number of Historiated Bibles survive in fifteenth-century mss. Some contain depictions of the enclosing of the ten lost tribes by Alexander. In one of these, in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, (Ms. germ. 2° 565, fol. 531ᵛ), these Jews have red hair and beards, despite the fact that the term 'Red Jews' does not appear in the text. As in the medieval Hebrew mss. reproduced by the Metzgers, Jews are depicted with red hair. It is especially apposite that these Jews have red hair. See Appendix D, no. 3.

German-language[19] texts use the term Red Jews. In *Mandeville's Travels*, the Ten Tribes are referred to as "the other Jews" and "they of Caspye"; there is no special name for them.[20] They are Jews. Here we find a number of clues concerning the use of the term Red Jews as opposed to 'Jews': only where Jews were present in everyday life would there be any need for a distinction between Jews (whom one sees) and, say, Asiatic Red Jews (whom one does not see). Many medieval authors in the German-speaking lands made just such a distinction. Where there were no or very few real Jews with whom to confuse them, the Ten Tribes could simply be called Jews. After the expulsions from England and France in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, it is precisely in the German-speaking lands that Jews were to be found.

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[19]. I include here, as dependent on the German vernacular tradition, the reference in the middle Low German *sielen trost* (1370), and the middle Swedish *Konung Alexander* (1380), a translation from Latin that uses the vernacular term (borrowed from German) to describe the cannibalistic Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander.

[20]. The Ten Tribes are never called Red Jews in any of the versions of *Mandeville's Travels*. Illustrated fifteenth-century German manuscripts of *Montevilles/Mandevilles Reise* depict the Ten Tribes shut up in the mountains (see Safran, *The Iconography of Antisemitism*, 27 and plate 56, from Stuttgart Landesbibliothek, theol. 195, fol. 177^{v}; and plate 57, from the same collection, Cod. poet. 4, fol. 69). However, printed versions of *Monteville* show only two Jews engaged in discussion with the Queen of the Amazons: e.g., Safran, plate 58, from B. Richel's *Monteville* (Basel, 1481), and plate 59, from B. Kistler's *Monteville* (Strasbourg, 1490s).

The Red Jews are first mentioned in *Der Jüngere Titurel*,[1] a late-thirteenth-century continuation of Wolfram's *Titurel* fragment.[2] The continuator calls himself Albrecht, and has generally been identified with Albrecht von Scharfenberg.[3] A long and florid work interrupted by frequent moral and courtly lessons, this continuation can be assigned by internal evidence to the 1270s.[4] It was considered in the

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[1]. *Der Jüngere Titurel*, ed. K.A. Hahn (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842; =Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur, 24), 596, v.6057 ff. There is a more recent edition in a selection of passages by Werner Wolf (Berne, 1978; = Altdeutsche Übungstexte, 14), strophes 6124-6127. This immensely popular tale was printed in 1477 (Hain 6683; Wolfenbüttel 275.8 Hist.2"). Wolf's text depends as much on the 1477 text as on Hahn's edition of manuscript sources.

[2]. c. 1170-c.1220.

[3]. *Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., Liefg. 1, Berlin/New York 1977, Col. 158-173.

[4]. Werner Schröder, *Wolfram-Nachfolge im Jüngeren Titurel. Devotion oder Arroganz* (Frankfurt a/M, 1982), 28-33; see also the *Jüngere Titurel*, 1172A, 4f. It is of interest here that Christians started to accuse Jews of host desecration at about this time: Langmuir corrects Leon Poliakov, *Du Christ aux Juifs de cour* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1955; = vol. I of his monumental *Histoire de l'antisémitisme*), 75 and R.I. Moore, *Persecuting Society*, 38, who assume that such accusations occurred in earlier sources (for Cologne in 1150 and Belitz in 1263). In fact, these accusations were introduced into their accounts by later chroniclers to whom such charges were current. Langmuir, "From Anti-Judaism to Antisemitism", 300, note 27. In the escalation of antisemitic sentiment and belief, the characterization of the 'Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander' as Red Jews in the thirteenth century was a significant contribution to the denigration and dehumanization of Jews in general.

fourteenth century to be the main work of Wolfram himself. It was highly prized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a treasure-trove of practical lessons concerning the best German literary style, courtly behavior and moral principles.[35] The Younger Titurel does not mention Alexander, and it is hard to tell if Albrecht used the *Historia Scholastica*. But in his tour of the eastern Asiatic kingdom of Prester John,[36] he encounters the Red Jews, enclosed between two mountains called Gog and Magog (named after 'two peoples').[37] These Red Jews are numerous;[38] they are 'keen fighters and savage', and their large armies could swarm across 'the whole world'; they threaten both Christians and the barbarous 'heathen'.[39] They are enclosed 'so that they cannot march war-like and proud across the earth'.[40] It is for

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[35]. Schröder, *Wolfram-Nachfolge*, 24.

[36]. The Grail is being taken from the corrupt West to the pious kingdom of Prester John.

[37]. Anderson also 'smells' Alexander, noting the similarity between these two mountains and the *ubera aquilonis*, or *Boreum* and *Promuntorium*, the names for the mountains between which Alexander enclosed Gog and Magog in the pre-conflation tradition: *Alexander's Gate*, 68-69.

[38]. "ir meng"; see Appendix A, no. 1, line 6125.

[39]. "snél und wild ir meng übr al die welte. / kristen unde heiden wær ein niht gen in zu wider gelte." See Appendix A, no. 1, line 6125.

[40]. "daz si niht sint úf erden progende varnde." See Appendix A, no. 1, line 6124.

this reason that the enclosing mountains are so high, higher even than the rainbow. These Red Jews are primarily a secular, military threat; Alexander and the Ten Tribes are not mentioned. There is not even a hint of the role to be played by the (Red) Jews at the end of time: the eschatological dimension of Comestor's conflation is missing. However, the details of the Red Jews' mountainous prison and of the wild river that encircles them are clear signs of dependence on both the Alexander legend and the Jewish legend of the Sabbation, mediated (in all likelihood) by the letter of Prester John. All the attendant details suggest that Comestor's conflation was the ultimate source of this episode. However, the final product, a secular vision of horror based on the military threat posed by the Red Jews, was a long way from the Parisian school-master's surmise.

The *Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg*, which dates from the end of the thirteenth century,[1] betrays absolutely no reliance on the story of the Ten Tribes. Rather, it mobilizes the well-known Red Jews -- a wild and warlike people[2] -- and

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[1]. Ed. Alfred Koppitz (Berlin 1926; = Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, XXIX); cited by Birkhan, "Die Juden in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters", 149-150. See Appendix A, no. 2 for text and translation.

[2]. These Red Jews are quite possibly borrowed from the *Younger Titurel*. Koppitz notes the strong influence of the latter and of Wolfram's work in general on the *Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg*: *Trojanerkrieg*, XXII.

parachutes them into a curious medieval version of the Iliad. Hercules and Ulysses, here described as cowardly, are searching for Achilles. On their journey, they encounter a foul and unnatural (*unrain*[33]) people, the Red Jews, with whom they fight for twelve days, leaving dead 'many a strong Red Jew' and killing a total of 20,000 of the 'red folk'. This portrait of the Red Jews is again most 'secular' -- there is no mention of either the Ten Tribes or Gog and Magog, nor of any eschatologically threatening role to be played by the (Red) Jews. Even so, it is one of the most hateful of such portraits: the emphasis is on the Red Jews' exceedingly foul nature, their savagery as warriors and their appearance, which causes a physical reaction in those who see them up close. The remaining Red Jews flee into the mountains. Alexander appears only at the end of the episode as the good king who, many years later, would defeat their descendants. A faint echo of Comestor can be discerned.

It is worth noting the narrative mechanism at work here: a medieval legend stripped of its original and overt religious connotations is projected into Greek antiquity as the background to one of the legends from which it was itself 'descended'. When a legend or an idea becomes its own source, it must be a firmly rooted and autonomous entity in the minds

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[33]. See the discussion in chapter III.

of those who know and use it. We can deduce that the author of the *Trojanerkrieg* associated the Red Jews with Alexander, but in no necessary or causal way. Rather, the Red Jews, an evil and unnatural people in the east, interact with figures equally real to the medieval view of the world: the heroes of the *Iliad* and Alexander the Great.

It must also be remembered that these people are Jews. Contrary to the assertion of Helmut Birkhan that this depiction of the 'Red Jews' was not a denigration of Jews in general,[4] ever since Comestor's time, the insertion of Jews into the boots of the foul and cannibalistic nations called Gog and Magog was a systematic and calculated denigration. As a matter of fact, it was a demonization of the Jews thus described and, by extension, of Jews in general -- as discussed in the previous chapter. When seen in the context of Comestor's conflation and of the role that would be ascribed to the Red Jews as servants of the Antichrist, this depiction of the Red Jews is not anti-Judaic,[5] but anti-(rubro)Semitic: the Red Jews are pilloried as an evil-looking, foul and unnatural people. In modern depictions of foreign peoples, American anti-Japanese propaganda of the second World War, or

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[4]. "Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt", 150: "Eine Abwertung der Juden schlechthin, ist hier noch nicht deutlich."

[5]. That is, not in the sense of antagonism toward the Jewish religion.

Tolkien's orcs, come close -- very close. A subliminal racism, or at least xenophobia, that associates foreign features (eyes, skin, hair color, customs) with evil is at work in both instances.

Just after 1300, Heinrich von Neustadt wrote a history of salvation called *Von Gottes Zukunft*, in which he places the Red Jews, Gog and Magog and the Queen of the Amazons[16] together in 'Caspia, the enclosed land' as future servants of the Antichrist.[17] Here, the Red Jews are clearly the Ten-Tribes-enclosed-by-Alexander; Gog and Magog are enclosed with them, separately. The last detail is the only major difference that distinguishes the *Von Gottes Zukunft* from the line which can be traced through the middle High German *Passau Anonymous* (c. 1330) and the fifteenth-century *Antichrist* books. This

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[16]. This detail probably comes from the *Compendium theologicae veritatis* of the Strasbourg Dominican Hugo Ripelin (1210-1268/70), also known as Hugh of Strasbourg, cited here in the version provided by Jacobs and Ukert, *Beiträge zur älteren Litterarur*, 118: "De Gog et Magog dicunt quidam, quod sunt decem tribus intra montes Caspios clause, non ita tamen, quin exire possent, si permitterentur; sed non permittuntur a regina Amazonum, sub cuius regio et ditione vivunt." (*Compend. theol. ver.*, VII.11.138 (see the full passage, in a slighlty different version, in Appendix B, no. 18, lines 2-5): "Concerning Gog and Magog some say that they are the Ten Tribes enclosed within the Caspian Mountains, however in such a way that they might leave if they were permitted: but they are not permitted to do so by the Queen of the Amazons, under whose rule and jurisdiction they live."

[17]. Ed. S. Singer (Dublin/Zurich 1967²), 5548-5553. For the text and an English translation see Appendix A, no. 3.

tradition identified the Red Jews with Gog and Magog (based on Hugo Ripelin's identification of the Ten Tribes with Gog and Magog), and placed them under the tutelage or in the companionship of the Queen of the Amazons.

The middle High German *Maccabäerbuch*, a work of vernacular exegesis, was written before 1335, probably by the Teutonic Knight Ludger of Braunschweig.[18] As with Heinrich of Neustadt, the Red Jews are identified with the Ten Tribes, but not with Gog and Magog, who are a separate people.[19] Ludger explains that the Red Jews/Ten Tribes are enclosed because their ancestors worshipped idols -- golden calves; citing II Kings 17,5-6 and 17,15-16 -- and were carried off into captivity by the king of the Assyrians. Here, more precise reference to the Bible and a sharp distinction between the sinful Ten Tribes and the apocalyptic peoples Gog and Magog differentiate the work of this cleric from the secular interpretations of the *Trojanerkrieg*. Yet, as in Heinrich's *Von Gottes Zukunft*, the Red Jews/Ten Tribes have been assigned

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[18]. *Das Buch der Maccabäer in mitteldeutscher Bearbeitung*, ed. Karl Helm, Tübingen 1904 (=*BLVS*, 233), lxxxviii; 23, v. 789f; *Verfasserlexikon* 10, 11. See Appendix A, no. 5 for text and translation.

[19]. See Apeendix I, German text: 793-802; translation: "In these mountains were the ten great hordes of the Jews captive and enslaved, they could not come out. They were the ten tribes, the true Israelites. They are also called the Red Jews. They are those with whom Gog and Magog will break out in the last days."

a part in the final drama as associates of Gog and Magog. In these two works, the Red Jews are not foul and unnatural in reference to this-worldly existence, they are supremely dangerous with reference to the end of this world. Although he repeats with some elaboration Comestor's description of the enclosure by Alexander, Ludger is no stuffy schoolmaster. He is present enough in the here-and-now to offer an explanation for the already-traditional term Red Jews: their "rote" [modern German "Röte"] or redness was due to their lasting shame at [their ancestors'][40] having repudiated the God of Israel and worshipped idols in the form of golden calves.

The middle High German version of the *Passau Anonymous*[41] (ca. 1330) identifies the destroyers Gog and Magog as "Jews, who are called the Red Jews". The original Latin (1260/66) contains only the traditional story of Gog and Magog, without identifying the destroyers with the Ten Tribes as many sources would do all over Europe, and more pertinently without

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[40]. It is worth noting that this sin is made to apply to "present-day" Red Jews in the same way that the supposed killing of Christ was laid at the feet of all Jews; perhaps this latter phenomenon served as a judicial model.

[41]. *Vom Antichrist. Eine mittelhochdeutsche Bearbeitung des Passauer Anonymus*, ed. Paul-Gerhard Völker (Munich 1970; = Kleine deutsche Prosadenkmäler des Mittelalters, vol. 6). For the relevant passage and a translation, see Appendix A, no. 4.

applying the German appellation "Red Jews".[42] To the author of the vernacular adaptation, Gog and Magog meant none other than "Jews, who are called the Red Jews". What the term means seems unclear to the author, since he qualifies its use with the phrase "who are called" -- the very words of Ludger. The name is traditional, fixed; the Jewishness of this people is in the foreground of the text. There is enough detail for us to pinpoint some of the sources: in all likelihood, the letter of Prester John is behind the description of the Sambation and the land of the Red Jews. The Red Jews will attack Christendom together with the Antichrist, leading many other 'apocalyptic' peoples -- who are called, like Gog and Magog in Rev. 20, "as numerous as the sand of the sea, as the angel told John". Their names are drawn from the world-view of medieval Europe and from Ezekiel 38-39: 'the evil Spaniards [Moors]', 'those from Persia, from Lybia, from the land of the Moors [mostly Moslems], from Dogorma[43] and Gomorrah [the destroyed city], from Dacia [pagans], from Sardinia and from Carthage [Moslems again] as well as many other unbaptized peoples.' The

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[42]. See Alexander Patchovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymus*. Ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer, Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart 1968; = Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica, 22), 161-162.

[43]. Cf. Ezekiel 38,4-5: "... I will bring thee forth, and all thine army [...] even a great company with bucklers and shields: Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya with them [...]; the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands, and many people with thee".

traditional religious and political medieval *Feindbild* "juden-ketzer-heiden"[44] fits so neatly into Ezekiel's prophecy that the author had no trouble mixing the two, confirming God's word with details and ideas from his own time. Above all, where the Latin original wrote Gog and Magog, the middle High German *Passau Anonymous* translated into terms familiar to a German-speaking audience: the Red Jews.

Similarly, Konrad Steckel's middle High German translation (1359) of a Latin account written in the 1320s or 1330s by Odorico of Pordenone of his travels to China and Mongolia,[45] adds a decisive element not present in the original Latin version. Odorico writes that he came to the 'Capian' mountains; Steckel in his translation corrects the spelling to 'Caspian' and notes that this is where the Red Jews are said to be enclosed. This translation is popular in tone and devoid of Latin learning (the "magnus Canis" [Great Khan] of the Latin original is translated as "der grosse hunt"

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[44]. Jews, heretics and heathen; in Latin, *judaei, haeretici, pagani*. For the Middle Ages, see medieval crusade poetry: in the German-speaking lands, the *Palästinalied* of Walther von der Vogelweide contains a typical expression of this hostile image. For the later Middle Ages and Reformation, see Heiko A. Oberman, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*, tr. James I. Porter (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984).

[45]. *Konrad Steckels deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*, ed. Gilbert Strasmann (Berlin 1968; = Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 20), 118-119. For the Latin and German texts and English translations, see Appendix A, no. 6.

[the great dog]). When he comes to the Ca(s)pian Mountains, to which Odoric devoted one vague line, and which had been filtered by time and distance,[46] Steckel knows immediately what they are and who lives there: the Red Jews.

In the middle Swedish *Konung Alexander* (c. 1380),[47] Alexander comes across a horrible people: 'These are called the Red Jews';[48] they eat human beings, and all sorts of creatures,[49] so Alexander prays for two mountains close by to come together; they were high and very long,[50] and Alexander closed the area off with two gates, leaving the Red Jews therein: "the rodha iudha a'ra ther inne" (4041).

The middle High German version of the *Gesta Romanorum*,

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[46]. The misspelling of the 'Caspian' Mountains and the lack of any details suggest that Odoric was following a dimly-remembered or poorly-understood tradition that belonged by a sort of established right in descriptions of the east, even if it played no role in the specific story now being told.

[47]. G.E. Klemming, ed., *Konung Alexander*. En medeltids dikt från Latinet vänd i Svenska rim omkring år 1380, på föranstaltande af Riksdrotset Bo Jonsson Grip (Stockholm, 1862); 130-133; esp. verses 3945 to 4044.

[48]. "Rohde iudha mon thz heta": *Konung Alexander*, 3977.

[49]. "thz aat folk mz huld ok krop / inbyrdhis aat hwart annath op / ok alla handa creatwr": *Konung Alexander*, 3957-3959.

[50]. "han bodh twem berghom the standa a'n / ganga til saman badhin ij sa'n / the waro hogh ok mykith lang": *Konung Alexander*, 4009-4011.

Das ist der Roemer Tat dates to the 14th century.[51] It describes the peoples enclosed by Alexander's pleas in the Caspian Mountains as the Ten Tribes abducted by the Assyrians, and calls them Red Jews; no Latin version of the *Gesta* ever does so. The German version enjoyed a widespread popularity in the 15th century.[52] The apocalyptic content of this text is clear, and it is highly charged with 'anti-Red-Jewish' sentiment: "[God will destroy them] at the end of the world, when these people come out with their Antichrist and make martyrs out of the people [Christians]".[53]

These last four examples are conclusive proof that the German name 'Red Jews', which connotes, as a rule, the conflation of Gog and Magog with the Ten Tribes of Israel, circulated in a purely vernacular sphere. The term was not mentioned in the original Latin texts, even when Gog and Magog or the 'Ca(s)pian Mountains' were being discussed. In the *Konung Alexander*, the Red Jews are appalling cannibals, just

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[51]. Ed. Adalbert Keller (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1841; =Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur, 22), 9-10. For text and translation, see Appendix A, no. 8.

[52]. It survives in 44 mss. and 7 early printed editions. W. Stammler and K. Langosch, *Verfasserlexikon der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3 (2nd ed., ed. Kurt Ruh et al., 1980), 32.

[53]. "Waz tút er dann zú ent der werlt. Wann daz selb volk chvmt mit irem antichrist auz vr marternt die læut...". Italics mine. See Appendix A, no. 8 for the full text and my translation.

like 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander' in its source, the *Historia de preliis*, and in the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius. In the middle High German translation of the *Passau Anonymous*, Gog and Magog are identified as the Ten Tribes, and further characterized as 'Jews who are called the Red Jews'. In the middle High German version of the *Gesta Romanorum*, the Ten Tribes are identified as the Red Jews. In both works, the Red Jews are intimately associated with the Antichrist as apocalyptic destroyers. Comestor's conflation and prophecy reach into the vernacular sphere where the Red Jews are 'code' for the Ten Tribes plus Gog and Magog -- who as distinct peoples are more at home in learned theology than in vernacular texts. Somewhere between these extremes is the work of Ludger of Braunschweig, himself at least nominally a cleric, but a writer of the vernacular.

In the tradition of both the middle High German *Passau Anonymous* and of Peter Comestor's re-enclosure by Alexander story, the strikingly popular and long-lived middle Dutch *sielen trost* or *Großer Seelentrost* (c. 1370)[54] mentioned the Red Jews. This is a vernacular work of exegesis on the Ten

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[54]. See the edition of Margarete Schmitt, *Der Grosse Seelentrost. Ein niederdeutsches Erbauungsbuch des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Cologne/Graz, 1959). On pages 31-34, Schmitt lists the five surviving middle Low German manuscripts and the at least thirty printed editions in early modern Netherlandish, High German and Low German, from 1474 to 1800. It was printed frequently at Cologne, and once -- in 1478 -- at Augsburg. See chapter I.

Commandments, to which was appended a version of the Alexander story. The re-enclosure of the Ten Tribes in the Caspian Mountains by Alexander appears in two separate places, both according to the Comestorine tradition.[55] However, in the commentary on the second commandment, under the rubric "Antichrist", the Red Jews are named as his followers in a passage derived more from the Pseudo-Methodian and Sibylline apocalyptic tradition: The Antichrist will be born of the tribe of Dan, of the Jewish race; "[When the Antichrist comes,] all the Jews follow him. The Red Jews, who are locked up, break out and follow him. They rebuild the temple at Jerusalem and worship him as a god and say that he is Christ, claiming that our Lord Jesus Christ was the Antichrist."[56] The Red Jews are grafted into the Antichrist tradition, which is

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[55]. The first time, in the commentary on the first commandment, 6-7: the Ten Tribes were led away into exile and "imprisoned" by the "King of Ninive" [i.e., Salmanasar, king of Assyria] for worshipping not God but idols, the Golden Calves; Alexander found them and refused their plea to be allowed to return to their homeland, and stopped up all the passes and ways leading out of their country, with God's help. The second mention is in the Alexander novel, 263.

[56]. Schmitt, *Seelentrost*, 65. For the text and a translation, see Appendix A, no. 7. With the exception of the enclosed Red Jews, these details so close to those concerning the life of the Antichrist in Hugo Ripelin's *Compendium* that the latter can be considered as the source of this passage: the Antichrist is born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan; he claims to be God; his good angel abandons him; the Jews rebuild the Temple for him; he claims that Jesus was in fact the Antichrist: for the passage, see Appendix C, no. 4. The enclosed Jews (Ten Tribes/Gog and Magog) of Hugo's time have become the Red Jews in this version.

hardly surprising, as even in Comestor, the 'conflated peoples' were to 'erupt' at the end of time and cause great damage in Christendom. Alexander is not mentioned in this context, although he is present in spirit: in the two 'Comestorine' passages cited above, in which Comestor's Alexander story is repeated, the Ten Tribes are said to be enclosed "until the advent of the Antichrist."[57] In both instances, the Sibylline and Comestorine traditions overlap, but in the commentary on the second commandment, the popular, vernacular term surfaces from amongst the ferment of apocalyptic lore and learned exegesis.

In this text the Ten Tribes play the same role as the Red Jews in the camp of the Antichrist. In fact, it would be next to impossible to argue that there was in this text any difference between them, except in name: Jews or Red Jews. This is clear not because the author expresses it, but because he refers separately to the Red Jews and to the Ten Tribes, and means the same in both cases. The author and readers of this text might not have distinguished between the Red Jews

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[57]. From Schmitt, *Seelentrost*: "Eyn berch sloth sijk an den anderen al vmme dat lant also ho, dat se dar inne bliuen mosten vnde sint dar noch inne vnde scholen dar inne bliuen also lange, bitte Entekerst kumpt. So komen se vt vnde voigen eme." (7); "Dar dede got en grot wunder, dat sik en berg an den anderen sloth, dar se noch hudes tages inne sin vnde solen dar also lange bliuen went Entekerst kumpt met siner det." (263).

and Jews of the Ten Tribes -- precisely because from the perspective of Biblical exegesis, the non-Biblical Red Jews were t' · Ten Tribes.

When the Red Jews function in other, especially secular contexts, such as the *Trojanerkrieg*, or Steckel's translation, they sometimes appear to be a separate people not governed by the pre-programmed eschatological and Biblical logic of the Comestor tradition. Oddly enough, the one early High German 'translation' of the *sielen trost* contains similar passages concerning 1) Alexander and the Ten Tribes, and 2) the Antichrist and the Jews -- but not the Red Jews![58] The printer, Anton Sorg, was not trapped in the vernacular. In his introduction, he mixes Latin phrases with his Swabian dialect.[59] For him, as for nearly all other Latinate writers of medieval and early modern Europe, the legend of the Red Jews is too 'colorful', and he does not repeat it.[60] However,

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[58]. *Der Seelentrost*, printed by Anton Sorg at Augsburg in 1478; now at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart: Inc.fol.14582 HB.

[59]. *Der Seelentrost*, fol. a'-a': "So unß bezeügt der ewangelist also spreche(n)t. Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva ma(n)data dei das ist so vil, Wilt du eingan in das ewig leben/so halt die gebot gctes." I am indebted to Robert Bast for this reference.

[60]. It is a safe bet that Sorg was familiar with the popular *Antichrist* books that had been printed almost since the appearance of the printing press in Germany (see below), and which featured prominently the Red Jews.

he does reproduce the traditional association of the Jews with the Antichrist as his servants. For the Scripture-citing Sorg at least, what is important is that the Antichrist's associates are to be Jews *tout court*.

There are good reasons not to conclude that the Red Jews are simply interchangeable with the Ten Tribes in medieval or early modern sources. Many German texts, including the two oldest cited above, do not connect the Red Jews with Alexander, the Ten Tribes, the Antichrist or the Last Judgement. In these texts the Red Jews are a separate (Jewish) people, powerful, dangerous and foul. Nonetheless, in most cases, the confusion of the Red Jews with the Ten Tribes and Gog and Magog was complete. During the sixteenth century, presumably under the influence of critical Bible study and the increasing availability of vernacular Bibles, the Ten Tribes and Gog and Magog would be distinguished from one another again; the Red Jews would lead a shadowy but stubborn existence in vernacular pamphlets and popular belief as they were pushed farther toward the margins of the believable and the respectable.

In the Middle Ages, the term Red Jews is more than just another name for the Ten Tribes. It resides in the vernacular language and in the vernacular consciousness which that language expresses. It belongs not necessarily among the unlearned: Teutonic Knights, courtly poets, imitators of the

Iliad and translators of Latin texts all used the term Red Jews as part of the vernacular *lingua franca* which they knew their audiences would understand. In such texts, the term invariably connotes a savage and unnatural people of particularly repulsive aspect. And although it sometimes means 'the Ten Tribes', when it appears side-by-side with them in the same exegetical contexts, the Red Jews are, in other texts, a separate, mythical, 'secular' people devoid of overt apocalyptic significance, disgusting and evil Jewish monsters -- like devilish Moors or dog-headed people (Kynocephales).

The term would continue to appear in German-language texts and to influence European thinking long after the idea that the Ten Tribes were Gog and Magog had been forgotten. To use the term Red Jews is to stress particular aspects of the 'Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander': their wickedness, their devalued physical attributes, their Jewishness, but also their strength compared to the weak, despised contemporary Jews to be found in the German-speaking lands, beyond the well-known program of their association with Antichrist. When the Red Jews appear in exegetical contexts, the term is charged both with apocalyptic content (and therefore essentially religious animus or fear)[1] and with a heightened ethnic hatred. The frenzied antisemitic tone is similar to that found in charges

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[1]. Just as when the Ten Tribes appear in this context.

of ritual murder or having killed Christ; but adds to the religious danger the secular and apocalyptic threat. The term 'Red Jews' articulates the idea of 'foul and unnatural Jews' who are cannibals and a physical, moral and military menace, painting in graphic strokes this final and fundamental threat to Christendom.

As we have seen, the Red Jews were marching to more than apocalyptic drums. Some time after 1446, a certain Gerhard Sprenger of Embrach copied an anonymous *Jahrbuch* concerning the city of Zurich, which dated from the middle of the fourteenth century.[52] This breaks off in 1336, so Sprenger supplemented it with entries taken -- to judge by the archaic form of the language -- from other contemporary year-books.[53] He continues the year-book up to 1446. In an entry concerning the second great year of the Black Death, 1349, an anonymous chronicler echoes the widespread contemporary belief that the Jews were responsible for the plague:[54] they had poisoned the

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[52]. *Die beiden ältesten deutschen Jahrbücher der Stadt Zürich*, ed. Ludwig Ettmüller (Zürich 1844; = Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, II), 35-96. Gerhard Sprenger of Constance was a canon at Embrach at the time of the Council of Constance (1414-1418). The manuscripts used by Ettmüller, from the Bürgerbibliothek at Zurich, date from the fifteenth century and are of paper. See the foreword (35-38) for details.

[53]. Eg. 'ungehôrtôst'.

[54]. Clement VI (Avignonese pope from 1342-1352) intervened three times, twice in 1348 (July 4 and September 26) and once in 1349 (October 20) to forbid this accusation and the ensuing

wells, springs and streams. This entry documents the absolute horror of this unheard-of sickness, so contagious that even the breath of an infected person was known to be deadly. The chronicler is at a loss to explain such incredible virulence except by poison, a poison which itself must be exceptional. It was not enough that the Jews spread it, as he and many others claimed. To explain its extraordinary effects, he had recourse to the exotic, the outlandish and bizarre: the poison could be no ordinary one. He says it had been augmented ('spiked') with the venom of serpents or basilisks, expressing an idea fairly common in his time concerning the source of plague.[95] Like the Red Jews, the poison was *unrain*, unclean or

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violence against Jews. See Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, ch. VII, "The Poisoners", 97-108, esp. 102-105 concerning the Black Death. This belief was not confined to the fourteenth century: Jews were accused of poisoning wells and causing epidemics in Franconia (1357), Halle (1382), Rappoltsweiler, Dürkheim and Colmar (1397), Freiburg im Breisgau (1401), Cologne (1424), Schweidnitz (1448 ard 1453), Regensburg (1472), Halle (early 1500s), Brieg 1541, Scweidnitz again (1543), Aix (1580) and Vienna (1679). This partial list is from Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 107-108. Gavin Langmuir notes in his book *History, Religion and Antisemitism* that one Christian explanation for the Plague was "the cosmic forces of evil were at work: the Jews, in league with the devil, were destroying Christians." (301). See also Séraphine Guerchberg, "The Controversies over the Alleged Sowers of the Black Death in the Contemporary Treatises on the Plague", in: *Change in Medieval Society*, ed. Sylia L. Thrupp (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964), 208-224, and Ernest Wickersheimer, *Les accusations d'empoisonnement* (Antwerp 1927).

[95]. "Unken", which means both poisonous serpents and the legendary basilisk. For details concerning the contemporary idea that the plague was caused by the breath of poisonous

evil beyond all imagining. This description was especially appropriate because the Jews are said by the chronicler to have obtained the poison from the Red Jews.[66]

Here is an example of one Christian's belief in collusion between the Jews of his time with the legendary but frighteningly 'real' and dangerous Red Jews: the suspect Jews of Europe are in league with the evil Red Jews. The adjective *unrain* is important: it characterizes not only the poison, but those who made it. Its use here is parallel to its leading role in the Alexander tradition, which had tarred Gog and Magog as "immundas gentes", and the Ten Tribes as *unrein*. The burning of Jews on charges of poisoning[67] the water is

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animals, such as serpents, dragons and basilisks, see Guerchberg, "Sowers of the Black Death", 214-215.

66. "Diu selbe gift des êrsten von den rotten juden kam..." See Appendix A, no.9 for the German text and my translation; see chapter I for a discussion of Ettmüller's erroneous interpretations of this crucial line.

67. A similar charge is made in *Mandeville's Travels*, cited again from the middle English translation, chapter XXII, in the section on strange stones, spices and people. *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. P. Hamelius, vol. I (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1919; = Early English Text Society, 153), 126, lines 10-20: [On the island of 'Pathen', near Java] "... ther ben other trees that beren hony gode + swete And other trees that beren venym [venom] against the whiche there is no medicyne but on [one] And that is to taken here propre leves + stampe hem + tempere him with water + than drynke it And ell [otherwise] he schall dye, for triacle will not avaylle ne non other medicyne. Of this venym the Iewes had let sechen of on of here frendes for to enpoysone all of christiantee as I haue herd hem seye in here confessioun before here dyenge. But thanked be all myghty god thei fayleden of hire purpos but allweys they maken gret mortalitee

sufficient proof of a thoroughgoing and secular antisemitism.[48] Who can doubt that the Red Jews were an integral part of this complex of hatred, when they are cited as the source of the alleged 'plague-poison'?

Contemporary learned treatises on the plague concentrated more on astrological and atmospheric influence than on contagion. The opinion rendered by the Parisian Faculty of Medicine at the request of Philip VI in the *Compendium de Epidemia ... per Collegium Facultatis Medicorum Parisiis* was that an unfavorable conjunction of the planets had caused the earth and bodies of water to exude noxious gas. When breathed, it goes straight to the heart and poisons the vital spirit that resides there; the internal organs rot in consequence.[49]

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of poeple." This reads, in modern English, starting with 'Of this venym...": "The Jews had asked one of their friends to procure [quantities of] this poison in order to poison all of Christendom, as I have heard them say in their confession[s] given just before dying [under torture/ at the stake?]. But almighty God be thanked, they failed in the attempt, though they constantly are killing large numbers of people." Might these 'frendes' be -- in French terms -- the Ten Tribes, in German the Red Jews, as in the Zurich *Jahrbuch*? The date of the French original, c. 1357, allows the conjecture that the 'failed attempt' to kill all of Christianity was indeed the Black Death, which moves this passage into close proximity to the entry for 1349 in the Zurich *Jahrbuch*.

[48]. See František Graus, *Pest - Geißler - Judenmorde*, for details of these accusations and for a discussion of the related phenomena of plague, flagellantism and pogroms.

[49]. Guerchberg, "Sowers of the Black Death", 210; the text is cited from the printing of the ms. (MS Lat. 11227, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) by Hippolyte Emile Rebouis, *Etude historique et critique de la Peste* (Paris: Picard,

At least three learned writers, Konrad of Megenburg, Guy de Chauliac and Henry Lamme 'defended' Jews against charges of spreading plague -- because they ascribed plague to other, less concrete factors.[70] The Zurich chronicle not only disregards such notions as astrological influence and atmospheric contamination, but specifies that plague spread by contact with infected persons, especially with their breath: an accurate description of the spread of pneumonic plague, presumably based on close observation and experience. Not learned speculation, but observed facts were the basis of this down-to-earth report. The intellectual 'place' or identity of the chronicler is not unimportant: what he saw around him, he observed closely. What he could not see, however, was the ultimate source of the plague. This he ascribed to the Jews, following the popular explanation of the day. We can distinguish two levels of 'medical' knowledge concerning the plague: one came out of books and learned speculation, and was from our perspective surprisingly wrong, yet it did not always make the monstrous mistake of seeing in the Jews the source of the plague; the other level, that of the unlearned, was based more on observation. In this instance, it comes closer to our physiological views, yet it made the appalling -- yet not

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1888).

[70]. Guerchberg, "Sowers of the Black Death", 213-217.

surprising -- mistake of blaming the most convenient and most vulnerable scapegoat available for the disaster: the 'evil' Jews and their 'unclean' red brethren.

This unusual source recounting the supposed role of the Jews in the Black Death has survived. It is not unreasonable to speculate that other German-speaking contemporaries blamed not only the Jews, but also the Red Jews. Similar charges probably circulated in France and inspired the accusation of such a conspiracy in *Mandeville's Travels*. The German physician Heinrich Ribbeniz of Breslau, who wrote a treatise on the plague around 1370, claims, without noting a source, that "... the Jews of Milan know a mountain nearby where a plant called *napellus* grows, which is the worst of poisons. [...] [T]he Jews [are not] permitted to go there lest they collect this plant and destroy the whole world or at least many Christians with its poison."[1] This last reference suggests that the plague of mid-century had been a 'Jewish conspiracy' -- and that plague was part of a wider Jewish policy of aggression and destruction.[2]

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[1]. Guerchberg, "Sowers of the Black Death", 217.

[2]. This is Guerchberg's conclusion; she also notes how odd it was that "so convinced an astrologer could assign poisoners any important role in the origin of the plague." "Sowers of the Black Death", 217. This seeming contradiction may well be the result of a clash in Ribbeniz' science between learned astrological theories and popular explanations that needed no proof-texts, as they were common coin.

The connection between the Jews of Europe and the Red Jews was neither incidental nor the result of a vague animus. Learned German physicians and French compilers of travel tales looked for the sources of the plague poison allegedly used by the Jews in the Far East, or in the Alps, but the chronicler of Zurich looked where the vernacular German tradition 'told' him to look: under the menacing rubric of the Red Jews. The supposed connection between the Jews and their red cousins was based on widespread belief in a Jewish conspiracy to harm or even destroy Christianity, a belief that fit well with the equally widespread certainty that the Jews had poisoned the wells, the rivers or even the air to cause plague outbreaks. The Red Jews, important but little-known players in German popular culture, ought to take their place in the history of antisemitic propaganda in German vernacular culture. They served in the Zurich *Jahrbuch* as a *pièce justificative* in the foregone trial and condemnation of the Jews who were burned to death in 1349 and 1350 all over Europe.

Around a century later, the associations inherent in the term 'Red Jews' had undergone little change. The "Chronik des Burkhard Zink (1368-1468)"[7] mentions the Red Jews ("rott Juden") once in a seemingly ambiguous context. The term is

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7. In: *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 7 (Leipzig, 1866; =Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte, Augsburg, II), 174.

misunderstood by Matthias Lexer as *rotte*, meaning troop or host of warriors.[74] Indeed, the form of the word (double "t"; final "e" elided) allows both "troop" and "red" as meanings.[75] The larger context is military, so Lexer assumes that *rott(e)* means troop, host. Lexer apparently was not familiar with the legend of the Red Jews. The immediate context, the arrival of the Dauphin Louis (later Louis XI) with his troops at Montbeliard (Mömpelgard) in 1444, suggests that "500 rott Juden" means not '500 troops of Jews' (many thousands of Jewish soldiers, in *judenrein* France no less!), but '500 Red Jews': they are mentioned in the same breath with "1000 Armagnacs". The 'Armagnacs' were early mercenaries; they would also be employed by Frederick III during the First War of Zurich (1440-1446). Their reputation was built on their proclivity for plunder and pillage. Both are described as 'the most evil people on earth and the cruelest people that ever might live on earth.'[76] The Red Jews are also called "groß

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[74]. *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, vol. II, col. 504.

[75]. Cf. the Zurich year-book and the *Trojanerkrieg*: "rotte Juden"; see also the discussion in chapter I.

[76]. See Appendix A, no. 10 for the German original: "[Louis] had arrived at Montbéliard [Mömpelgard] with 20,000 men, among whom were, they say, about 500 Red Jews; also there was the count of Armagnac with 1,000 men. They say that the big Jews and the Armagnacs are the most evil people on earth and the cruelest people that ever might live on earth." Louis IX reigned from 1461-1483.

Juden", large Jews. This sounds like what we know of the war-like, cruel, evil Red Jews. The reference may be an elliptical and degrading way of describing Turks or Tatars -- with whom Luther would identify the Red Jews not quite a century later -- or some other foreign mercenaries in the service of the French Dauphin during this last phase of the Hundred Years War.

At approximately the same time Sprenger was copying the Zurich *Jahrbuch* with its damning reference to the Red Jews and Burkhard Zink was penning his history, the popular *Antichrist* books were already circulating in the German-speaking lands. Based on a variety of sources, but most clearly on the thirteenth-century *Compendium theologicae veritatis* of the Strasbourg Dominican Hugo Ripelin, this genre evolved at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The earliest manuscripts have been dated to 1430.[7] The immense popularity of this vernacular compilation, which also drew both materials and authority from the *Legenda aurea*, was only heightened by the advent of printing.[8] This vernacular concoction became available first as a chiroxylographic book, which combined

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[7]. Jacobs and Ukert, *Beiträge zur älteren Litteratur*, 115, note 3; Burger, *Der Antichrist*, 18-22.

[8]. The *Legenda* was complied by the Genoese Dominican Jacob a Voragine (1228/30-1298).

printed woodcut illustrations with hand-written captions,[39] then as a xylographic print (woodcut plates with images and text),[40] and finally as a typographically-printed text.[41] Thus, it could be purchased by ever-larger groups at a theoretically diminishing price -- in any case, at much lower cost than a manuscript copy.

The vernacular chiroxylographic Antichrist of 1450 and

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[39]. *Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen. Faksimile-Ausgabe des einzig erhaltenen chiroxylographischen Blockbuches*, ed. H. Th. Musper (Munich 1970), 2 vols. [hereafter *Antichrist 1450*]. The original, which comes from the Fürstlich Oettingen-Wollersteinsche Bibliothek, is in the Bibliothek Otto Schaefer at Schweinfurt. It has been dated to around 1470 by Georg Schübel in a contribution to volume I entitled "Sprache und Alter des Blockbuches" (41-49; esp. 45), but the editor assigns it to the period around 1450, probably Nuremberg, in his chapter "Der chiroxylographische Antichrist", vol. I, 20-40; esp. 30.

[40]. Jacobs and Ukert, *Beiträge zur älteren Litteratur*, part II "Xylographische Werke", chapter 6 "Der Entkrist", 114-122; a xylographic edition appeared at Nuremberg in 1472, printed by "Der Jung Hänß prieff maler" (115), hereafter *Antichrist 1472*. A facsimile was prepared by K. Pfister: *Das puch von dem entkrist. Faksimile-Druck nach dem Original in der Bayerischen Staats-bibliothek München (Xyl.I)* (Leipzig 1925).

[41]. *Der Antichrist. Faksimile der ersten typographischen Ausgabe. Inkunabel der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main. Inc. fol. 116; Der Antichrist und die Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht.* Kommentarband zum Faksimile der ersten typographischen Ausgabe eines unbekannten Straßburger Druckers, um 1480, ed. Friedrich Wittig Verlag (Hamburg 1979), hereafter *Antichrist 1480*; see esp. Peter Christoph Burger, "Endzeiterwartungen im späten Mittelalter", Kommentarband, 18-78. Other editions of German *Antichrist*-books include the facsimile edition of Ernst Kelchner, *Der Endkrist der Stadt-Bibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt, 1891) and Kurt Pfister, *Das Puch von dem Endkrist* (Leipzig, 1925).

the typographic Strasbourg *Antichrist* of 1480 feature woodcuts depicting the Queen of the Amazons surrounded by Jews, clearly recognizable by their dress, doing homage to the Antichrist.[12] The accompanying text states that these are "the Red Jews enclosed by Alexander the Great in the Caspian Mountains".[13] The next page describes the great pilgrimage to the Antichrist at Jerusalem, a scene that dates back to the Tiburtine Sibyl. The text itself mentions as one of its sources the thirteenth-century *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, but clearly also relies on the 'Antichrist plus Red Jews' tradition as represented in *Von Gottes Zukunft*, the *Passau Anonymous*, the middle Low German *sielen trost* and the middle High German version of the *Gesta Romanorum*. No source need be cited; the Red Jews are 'in the air', common knowledge. This travesty of a pilgrimage begins with the Red Jews breaking out and doing great damage to the world; "these same Jews are called Gog and Magog and their Ten Tribes".[14]

These texts represent an important sample of the earliest

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[12]. *Antichrist 1480*, 14b. Cf. the *Passau Anonymous*, above.

[13]. From the 1480 text: "Aber ein ander des Enndkrist pot predigt der kunigin von Amason/vnd den roten juden.die der groß allexander in den gebyrgen Caspie beschlossen het." See Appendix A, no. 11b, fol. 13.

[14]. From the 1480 text: "Des ersten prechen die roten juden uß.vnd die tůnd der welt gros not.vnd die selben Juden heissen gog.vnd magog.vnd ir zehen geschlecht." See Appendix A, no. 11b, fol. 14.

German incunabula. They stand at the mid-point on a long line of vernacular literature, exegesis and history that sees in the Red Jews both an 'unclean' or foul nation and the apocalyptic destroyers of Ezekiel and Revelation. It would be excessive to argue that the difference between the Red Jews and the Ten Tribes is fundamental; yet there is a difference: in tone, in intellectual sophistication, in social level and in polemical intent. The Red Jews are also Gog and Magog, whereas the Ten Tribes are not apocalyptic destroyers, except as Christians interpreted Jewish hopes for their return, and associated them with the Antichrist -- under the name Red Jews or Gog and Magog. In the few medieval texts (the *Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg* and the Zurich *Jahrbuch*) where the Red Jews are not immediately involved in the Alexander story and apocalyptic prophecies, they are a distinctly evil, but accessible nation, who can be reached by travellers and who are neither invincible nor 'at the door': they live far away and pose no immediate danger; their peculiarity consists not in an apocalyptic role, but in their foulness and evil -- traits traditionally associated with 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander'. The name Red Jews and its particular associations would survive for three centuries and, seen in turn through ever-changing filters, would function in novel contexts increasingly distinct from the Comestorine tradition. Where the Red Jews <u>were</u> equated with the Ten Tribes, the

latter name was often omitted, while the former focused a tangible, physical revulsion and apocalyptic horror.

Christian knowledge or suspicion of the hopes entertained by European Jews in regard to the Ten Tribes seems to have played a part in the construction of this nightmarish vision of the Red Jews -- where else did Comestor get the legend of the Ten Tribes and their return? Not only the apocalyptic threat posed by this wild horde, but their vividly-imagined physical appearance and anticipated presence were the clear objects of the abomination expressed in the name Red Jews.

3. The Audience: Text and Context

The question of audience is a vexed one. Beyond the clear evidence that the Red Jews appeared only in works written in German for a non-Latinate audience, there is little or no evidence of who read these works apart from the clues provided by the texts themselves. Courtly epic poetry, such as the *Jüngere Titurel* and the *Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg*, were evidently written for a courtly audience, but that bare fact does not describe their actual audience with any precision: Reformation-era pamphlets were not the first texts to be read aloud to large and diverse audiences. As we follow the tradition of the Red Jews through the Middle Ages and on into the Reformation, the texts in which this legend occurs grow more frequent and more popular. An entry in a chronicle, a

German translation of a Latin travelogue, or a military report take us far from the realm of court patrons of literature, or even of wealthy bourgeois book-buyers. When we encounter the Red Jews in the fifteenth-century *Antichrist* books, we can be sure that the legend is circulating widely -- yet the precise audience remains indeterminable. Texts reflect and help to form a larger world of ideas and beliefs, rooted in tradition and circulating over large areas. The complex interaction of text and belief is revealed by the changing nature of depictions of the Red Jews from the thirteenth through the seventeenth century.

The cost of books, although comparable to that of manuscripts in the 'experimental' period of printing (to about 1460), dropped sharply over the last half of the century, as printing techniques and commercial distribution developed.[15] Yet it is clear that the *Antichrist* book was not selling for a few pennies, as some Reformation-era pamphlets would. It was still a book; and although many books would be printed in runs of two hundred to four hundred copies in the 1470s and over 1,000 copies from the 1480s on, the chiroxylographic edition

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[15]. Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450-1550* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 69-70. See also the classic but rather humanistically-biased work of Curt F. Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960): Bühler is not interested in printing runs so much as in bibliography and the place of the printed book in the fifteenth century.

of c.1450 probably did not extend to more than a hundred copies; the later typographical editions may have reached numbers in the high hundreds or low thousands.[46]

What, therefore, can we say about the readership of these texts? It was never large, by modern standards, and yet assuming a relatively equal survival rate for such works, that any survived at all is indicative of a certain popularity, without even referring to the long printing history (1450-1516) of the *Antichrist* books. Yet can we conclude that the legend of the Red Jews moved 'down' the social/class scale over the course of the Middle Ages, simply because the evidence now available places it first in courtly texts, after which it makes its way into vernacular exegetical works, German translations of Latin texts and printed texts designed for a fairly large market? Absolutely not. That would allow the evolution of literacy, textual genre and the value-laden mechanisms that preserved certain kinds of texts (courtly or pious) more readily than worldly or (quasi-) official works to determine the 'descent' of an idea. There is in all likelihood no way to determine the audience of a given idea outside the textual tradition in which it was preserved; and although we know the legend of the Red Jews was available in more

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[46]. This is nothing more than a guess based on similar figures for very early incunabula listed by Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 65-66.

'popular' textual genres in 1348 and 1470 than those which featured it in 1270, we do not know whether this legend was truly widespread among the common people at either time. However, we now know that it existed in German texts from 1270 on, and that it later was available not only in courtly literature, but in vernacular prose narratives, translations of Latin works, German-language exegetical and religious texts and the German printed book: a modest discovery, but a real one.

In the German-speaking lands from the thirteenth to the late fifteenth century, Red Jews were terrifying figures. They were uncontrolled foreigners, armed non-Christians not subject to Christian authority. They were the apocalyptic destroyers Gog and Magog prophesied in Ezekiel and Revelations. They were the revolting peoples Alexander locked up to protect the rest of the world. They were the innumerable hordes of the Ten Tribes. Apocalyptic fear and hope were associated with stories about the Ten Tribes. In medieval German texts, the Red Jews were for some the Ten Tribes and Gog and Magog; but for others, they were simply Jews, Jews of a particularly evil and dangerous variety. In either case, they were distinct enough to merit a pejorative label of their own. In Leonardo Olschki's words, they are a concrete entity that reflects the popular medieval predilection for the concrete, the easily-named and quickly-grasped. No elaborate Biblical name, but a

direct appeal to the senses and to the integral socio-religious antisemitism of the time is behind the German designation. They were the 'stubborn' or 'blind' Jews who will, according to Pseudo-Methodius and medieval apocalyptic, gather around the Antichrist and revere him as their Messiah in the last days. Finally, they were sinful, uncontrolled, exotic Jews who, in contrast to the Jews of Europe, possess military might that not only prevents their subjugation but threatens Christendom itself. They were physically repulsive (*Trojanerkrieg*) and provided European Jews with the plague-poison for wells and streams.

From the twelfth century on, a fantastical but thoroughly tradition- and text-based Christian *Feindbild* increasingly identified the ten lost tribes of Israel with Gog and Magog, the Mongols or the Tatars. In the thirteenth century, it was heated up to fever pitch in German texts by the addition of the opprobrious color red, which was identified with the Jews through depictions of Judas. Red applied to people refers to a morally-suspect hair color as a kind of shorthand for moral deviance or degeneration. The remarkable name may account for the longevity of the tradition in Germany, especially in vernacular texts, when other cultures knew only Gog and Magog, or the Ten Tribes. There seems to have been no particular reason why the Red Jews were limited to German texts, except that catchy and meaningful names are often applied by a

culture to the objects and phenomena in which it is most interested, of which it constantly speaks and speculates.[17] My research simply has not come across the Red Jews outside the German sphere of cultural influence.

In the medieval tradition, the despised color of the Red Jews -- a symbol of faithlessness and sinfulness -- was both a mark and a guarantee of the abhorrence they inspired. This special revulsion, this 'colorful' apocalyptic anxiety, a xenophobic projection of threatening otherness onto an already angst-ridden projection -- this was the most remarkable element in the German legend of the Red Jews.

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[17]. A 'fax' (facsimile transmission) machine, the Canadian word 'hydro' (meaning both electrical power and the companies that provide it) and the 'Reds' of the Cold War are examples of the shorthand that both results from and facilitates the use (and overuse) of a constantly-recurring expression or idea.

V: THE MEDIEVAL ANTICHRIST AND HIS JEWISH HENCHMEN

1. The Antichrist: What or Who[1]

It would not be difficult to dismiss the medieval legend of the Antichrist as pure fantasy -- analogous to such entertaining motifs as fire-breathing dragons, unicorns, enchantments and the like. The Antichrist was, in our terms, an 'imaginary' figure, a product of the collective,

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[1]. The literature on the Antichrist is truly enormous. The classic work of Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend, a Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore*, trans. by A.H. Keane (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1896) is still useful as a scholarly introduction. An unsurpassed study of the Antichrist legend in late medieval and Reformation-era Germany is Hans Preuß' classic *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie Luthers und zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit* (Leipzig, 1906). In the best tradition of thorough German scholarship, Horst Dieter Rauh promises much less in the title than he actually delivers, namely a vast and extraordinarily erudite conspectus of the Antichrist tradition since Biblical times: *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: Von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus* (Münster 1979²[1973]). Less technical, though every bit as scholarly and much broader in scope is Richard Kenneth Emmerson's *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981). For a short overview of the association between the Antichrist and the Jews, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, ch. 2, "Antichrist", 32-43. Trachtenberg does not distinguish between the cautious Biblicism of much medieval 'high theology' and the more concrete exegesis that eventually prevailed in exegetical and literary works of the high and later middle ages. For a perspective on the 'real-life' impact of the Antichrist in the political world, see H.M. Schaller, "Endzeit-Erwartungen". See also Bernard McGinn, "Portraying Antichrist in the Middle Ages", in: *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen (Louvain 1988), 1-48.

historical, theological, mythopoeic functions of the imagination. In our terms: to medieval Christians, the Antichrist was a terrifying reality. Matthew of Janow (+1394) wrote that the Antichrist was so universally and thoroughly discussed that when he appeared, even the little children would instantly know him.[1]

Learned Biblical exegesis has tended to interpret the Beast of Revelation 13, the basis of the Antichrist legend, as a corporate entity -- the totality and final sum of evil in the world. However, medieval and early modern Latin authors less concerned with precise Biblical scholarship than with that part of the Christian tradition which they knew best, and the vernacular sources that interpreted learned theology for the non-Latinate in literary or exegetical genres provide evidence for a strikingly different and more popular interpretation. To the broad masses of western Christendom, and to many learned clerks, the Antichrist was a real person who would be born, live and die, often in a perverse parody of

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1. Cited by Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 39. For a lively depiction of medieval beliefs concerning the Antichrist and the Jews, see pages 32-38. To medieval Christians, the Antichrist was "no legendary dragon spouting imaginary fire; he was a terrifying reality" (37-38); "...the Antichrist was no mere creature of scholarly dispute but the deeply disturbing concern of everyone." (39).

Jesus' life, at the End of Time.[3] He would persecute true believers and set up an ungodly realm of terror on earth. Starting in the early Middle Ages, Christian belief assimilated the Jewish Messiah to the Christian Antichrist. Christians came to see in the Antichrist they expected at the End of Time the figure the Jews believed would be their Messiah. Twelfth century vernacular literary and exegetical texts express the idea that the despised Jews would play a major role as the servants, supporters and troops of the Antichrist when he came to devastate Christendom. The post-Comestorine German version of the Gog and Magog story in which

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[3]. The same distinction between a corporate and a personal Antichrist has been made by Curtis Bostick in his dissertation "The Antichrist as Threat to Heaven and Earth. The Urgency of Reform on the Eve of the Reformation in England" (University of Arizona, 1993). Bostick notes that the theologians Tyndale and Wyclif generally saw the Antichrist as a corporate entity, whereas at the popular level, the Lollards looked for the final advent of a real person. However, most students of the Antichrist traditions have not seen this distinction as central: Emmerson, for example, calls the personal interpretation "a standard and widely accepted understanding of Antichrist" (*Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 7); the main alternative to this view, he suggests, is the political interpretation that from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries identified the Antichrist with a specific pope, political figure, opponent, heretic or reformer, a view that was to prevail in the sixteenth century with the Protestants, who understood the entire Roman Catholic church as Antichrist (*Idem*). My study shows that there is a real distinction between the allegorizing or symbolic view of high theology and the personal view that indeed did win out and become 'standard and widely accepted' among the majority of western Christians. In fact, both these ancient traditions were necessary for the later identification of specific personages (a pope or an emperor, usually) with the Antichrist -- whether by Rupert of Deutz (see below) or by Luther.

the Jewish Ten Tribes were cast as the Red Jews, fit perfectly into the 'personal' interpretation of the Antichrist. Such details as his place of birth, parentage, lifespan and deeds varied. A multiplicity of traditions was enlisted to make sense of Scripture, of Sibylline and other apocalyptic texts and of the portents and 'signs of the times' medieval Christians were so ready to see in cataclysmic events over which they had no control: invasion, plague, famine, war.

In order to understand the social and intellectual place of the popular view that saw in the Antichrist a real person, it is necessary first to review the allegorizing and symbolic learned tradition, especially in the form it took in the German-speaking world.[4] The allegorizing method is the opposite pole to the personal interpretation. Occupying an exegetical middle ground, the 'political' method of reformers like Wyclif, Nicholas of Janov and Luther, which interprets 'Rome' or 'the Papacy' or even 'the Pope' as Antichrist, would dominate Reformation-era discussion of the Antichrist.

Medieval and late medieval German literary texts, many of which we have already examined in our discussion of the Red

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[4]. This tradition has received very little attention outside specialized German scholarship, such as Rauh's *Das Bild von dem Antichrist*. The allegorizing method is not the direct thematic ancestor of the concrete interpretations to be found in later medieval German texts. This break reveals a great deal about the social place and the mentality of the popular tradition.

Jews, will be adduced to demonstrate the association made between the Antichrist and the Jews, as well as between the Antichrist and the Red Jews. Vernacular sermons, exegetical manuals for the *illiterati* and a staged dialogue between a monk and a Jew provide a representative sample of the media by which popular beliefs circulated from roughly 1150 to the beginning of the Reformation.

Some of the most effective vehicles of popular medieval beliefs and ideas concerning the Antichrist are the Passion Plays and *Fastnachtsspiele* (carnival plays). The focus here is on Germany, but a brief look at French and English equivalents will establish the European context and underscore German particularities.

2. An Unusual Birth: Antichrist in Antiquity

The Antichrist figure is an amalgam of 'myth, popular folklore, and current history' that seems to have developed parallel to the efflorescent Christology of the early Church.[5] The Antichrist conceived of in human terms, along the lines of Christ's incarnation, is an anthropomorphic and concrete interpretation of the 'Beast' of the Johannine Apocalypse

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5. This suggestion is made by Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 16-17.

(Rev. 13).[9] One of the earliest witnesses to this belief is the fourth-century Tiburtine Sibyl, a Christian apocalyptic text based in part on the earlier Sibyllines, though firmly anchored in Patristic apocalyptic. Originally composed in Greek, but soon translated into Latin, this text interprets the Christian apocalypse of John through pagan oracular traditions, mediated by Jewish apocalyptic thought.[10] The

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[9]. For precise details and a listing of testimony from the early Fathers of the Church -- including Jerome, Hippolytus, Lactantius and Chrysostom, most of which tends toward seeing the Antichrist as a human being possessed or energized by the Devil, or as the Devil incarnate -- see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 133-135 and 137-142. Bousset expands on the origins of the Antichrist legend in Jewish apocalyptic, and before that, in ancient (Hebrew) tales of a repeat of God's primeval battle with the Dragon of the depths, the marine monster (Leviathan); "The expectation [in the Jewish myth of the final battle] is not of any hostile ruler and of the oppression of Israel by him and his army, but of a struggle of Satan directly with God, of a conflict of the Dragon with the Almighty throned in heaven. To me the Antichrist legend seems a simple incarnation of that old Dragon myth, which has in the first instance nothing to do with particular political powers and occurrences. For the dragon is substituted the man armed with miraculous powers who makes himself God's equal -- a man who in the eyes of the Jews could be no other than the false Messiah." Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 144-145. Bousset admits that the medieval myth emphasized the human and 'political' aspects of the Antichrist, but insists on the demonic background of the Antichrist as 'dragon' -- a motif that never died out and was used to such effect in the antipapal pamphlets of the Protestant Reformation.

[10]. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 95-117; esp. 112. See also McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 19-21; McGinn cites Philipp Vielhauer: "Christianity took over the genre of the Apocalypse from Palestinian Judaism and that of the Sibyllines from Hellenistic Judaism.", from "Apocalypses and Related Subjects: Introduction", in: E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press,

medieval church accorded the Sibylline texts an almost canonical status as the 'prophets' of classical antiquity.[4]

The oldest surviving version of the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl is an early eleventh-century Latin reworking, probably from northern Italy.[5] The popularity of this text is attested to by its complicated and far-flung history. The text edited by Ernst Sackur has been influenced by the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius (7th century), though the details concerning

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1964), 581-607; 581. For precise details on the 'proto-Antichrist' figure Belial or Beliar, the 'man of sin' known to St. Paul (2 Cor. 6,15) from the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 136-137, and his "Note on Belial", 153-156. The Sibylline prophecies also borrowed the name from Jewish writings: Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 137. Rauh provides a close look at the original political context of the Sibylline texts and their subsequent use as 'instruments of politics' (e.g., the description of Emperor Henry IV by a Gregorian monk, between 1084 and 1096 as an antichrist-like king, with whom the horrifying End Time will begin): *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 138-145; esp. 143. For the relevant passage from the Tiburtine Sybil, see Appendix C, no. 1.

[4]. The medieval formula "teste David cum Sibylla" (with the witness of David and the Sibyl) was a guarantee of double ancient authority. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 20. Emmerson notes that during the Middle Ages the Sibylline Oracles, whether Christian in origin or not, were often considered inspired: *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 47.

[5]. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 43. McGinn cites the reconstruction of the widespread tradition, including two families of Latin texts, done by P.J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), and reproduces the stemma on p. 295. The Latin text edited by Ernst Sackur (W^1) is an early eleventh-century copy of the lost late tenth-century W^0; for the relevant passage, see Appendix C, no. 1.

Antichrist are not identical.

The Latin Tiburtine Sibyl stands in a line of apocalyptic traditions that depicted the Antichrist as a false Messiah: a Jewish Antichrist will be born of the tribe of Dan to reign as a false prophet and false Messiah from a rebuilt Jerusalem.[10] To Jerome, Jer. 9,14-16 predicted the punishment of the Jews for preferring Antichrist to Christ.[11] Jewish and Christian apocalyptic diverged here, mirroring the deepening rift during the late Empire between the 'New Israel' and the 'old'. However, much of medieval Christian apocalyptic ignored the topic of the Jews except insofar as they -- or some of them --

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[10]. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 32-34; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 17. According to Trachtenberg, the idea that the Antichrist will be born of the tribe of Dan "is unquestionably related to the Jewish conception that the Messiah would be derived from this tribe on the maternal side" (note 5 to chapter 2, pages 224-225). Emmerson notes that this idea, found first in the Tiburtine Sibyl, was based on Gen. 49,16-17, Deut. 33,22, and Jer. 8,16; indeed, all the main elements that came to be associated with the Antichrist's appearance in the last days were drawn, sometimes through very distorting filters, from the Bible: *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 46. On the parentage and birth of the Antichrist, see Emmerson's summary of the various traditions, *ibid.*, 79-83.

[11]. Suggesting that the Antichrist was a 'Baal', an idol for whom the Jews would forsake the God of Israel. Jerome, *In Hieremiam prophetam*, 2.78,2, *CChr* LXXIV.97. See also the *Glossa ordinaria: Biblia sacra cum glossis interlineari, et ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani postilla, ac moralitalibus, Burgensis additionibus et Thoringi replicis*, 7 vols. (Venice, 1588), vol. 4, fol. 125r (cited from Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, note 26 to chapter 2, 253).

were to convert before the Last Judgment.[12]

The salient elements of the 'Jewish Antichrist' tradition are already present in the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl, which describes the 'Son of Perdition' as born of the 'tribe of Dan' (one of the ten lost tribes).[13] This detail provided a

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[12]. The Joachimite apocalyptic tradition, for example, does not assign any malign role in the Last Things to the Jews; neither do Bonaventure, the Franciscan Spirituals, St. Vincent Ferrer (despite his fervid antisemitic tendencies), the Hussites and other noteworthy prophets of the End. See Marjory Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*.

[13]. Here is the relevant passage from the Tiburtine Latin Sibyl in Bernard McGinn's translation. 'At that time the Prince of Iniquity who will be called Antichrist will arise from the tribe of Dan. He will be the Son of Perdition, the head of pride, the master of error, the fullness of malice who will overturn the world and do wonders and great signs through dissimulation. He will delude many by magic art so that fire will seem to come down from heaven. The years will be shortened like the months, the months like the weeks, the weeks like the days, the days like the hours, and an hour like a moment. The unclean nations that Alexander, the Indian king, shut up [i.e., Gog and Magog] will arise from the North. These are the twenty-two realms whose number is like the sand of the sea. When the king of the Romans hears of this he will call his army together and vanquish and utterly destroy them. After this he will come to Jerusalem, and having put off the diadem from his head and laid aside the whole imperial garb, he will hand over the empire of the Christians to God the Father and to Jesus Christ his Son. When the Roman empire shall have ceased, then the Antichrist shall be openly revealed and will sit in the House of the Lord in Jerusalem. While he is reigning, two very famous men, Elijah and Enoch, will go forth to announce the coming of the Lord. Antichrist will kill them and after three days they will be raised up by the Lord. Then there will be a great persecution, such as has not been seen before nor shall be thereafter. The Lord will shorten those days for the sake of the elect, and the Antichrist will be slain by the power of God through Michael the Archangel on the Mount of Olives." From *Visions of the End*, 49-50. For Sackur's Latin text, see Appendix C, no. 1. Trachtenberg attempts to make a distinction not borne out by the sources when he claims

convenient point of reference for later Christian depictions of the apocalyptic destroyers as Jews (whether the Ten Tribes or the Red Jews),[14] especially once the story of Alexander enclosing Gog and Magog in a mountain fastness had been added to the narrative of the Antichrist's advent and reign -- for the first time in the fifth-century "Syrian Legend Concerning Alexander".[15]

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that the Antichrist legend, "as distinct from the simple belief in the coming of this figure, is of comparatively late origin"; i.e., the tenth century: *The Devil and the Jews*, 32. This fourth-century text already contains all the main elements of what he calls the Antichrist legend.

[14]. Trachtenberg is one of the very few modern commentators on the Antichrist and the Jews who has noticed the Red Jews and correctly placed them in the context of the apocalyptic peoples enclosed by Alexander who will serve the Antichrist. However, he cites only one source (the 1596 pamphlet; see Appendix A, number 21), otherwise relying for the rich and largely unknown medieval tradition on the not-entirely-accurate reporting of Preuß, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist*, 17 and 18, note 1: *The Devil and the Jews*, 39-40.

[15]. This is the first instance of the fusion, which was to be characteristic for the middle ages as a whole, of the Alexander legend and late classical apocalypticism. A Latin translation was made in the tenth century by a Neapolitan priest: Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, p. 11. The most complete version is that ascribed to the Syrian ecclesiastic writer Jacob of Serugh (c.451-521). E.A. Wallis Budge edited the Syriac text and translated it into English in his *The History of Alexander the Great*. McGinn reproduces a portion of this text in *Visions of the End*, 57-59. The relevant passage is as follows: "Then the hosts of Agog and of the house of Magog shall go forth, / And man shall fall upon his fellow, and nation upon nation, / And the quaking of the earth and the sword of anger shall be there. / On the skirts of Zion shall the bodies of the dead lie in heaps. / And after these things the earth shall be desolated of mankind, / Villages shall be destroyed and all towns and cities; / The scattered ones only remain in the earth as a remnant. / Then shall Antichrist rise

The seventh-century *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius were, after the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of John, one of the most influential and widespread of medieval apocalyptic texts The *Revelationes* also fuse the ancient story of Alexander enclosing the 'unclean peoples' (among whom Gog and Magog are numbered) behind bronze gates in the northern mountains with the Antichrist legend. First, the 'unclean peoples' break out of their mountainous prison and sweep through the world, killing and eating people and terrifying the whole world. When the Antichrist has arisen, the king of the Romans will give up his crown on Golgotha and hand over the kingdom of the Christians to God. All political organisation and power (i.e., all protection against enemies) will disappear, and the world will be given over entirely to the Antichrist, the Son of Perdition.[7]

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upon the whole earth ..." (*Visions of the End*, 59, lines 647-654. For a brief contextual discussion, see Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 26-28.

[6]. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 70 (see ch. 2, note 8). Again, Trachtenberg does not cite this extraordinarily influential tradition, which is one of the main vehicles of the Antichrist legend in the middle ages.

[7]. In McGinn's translation: "After a week of years, when they [sc. Gog and Magog etc.] have already captured the city of Joppa, the Lord will send one of the princes of his host and strike them down in a moment. After this the king of the Romans will go down and live in Jerusalem for seven and half-seven times [i.e., years]. When the ten and a half years are completed the Son of Perdition will appear.

He will be born in Chorazaim, nourished in Bethsaida, and reign in Capharnaum. Chorazaim will rejoice because he was

The association of the Antichrist with the peoples enclosed by Alexander was firmly fixed in Christian consciousness in late antiquity. Given the belief that the Antichrist would be born of Jewish lineage, especially of the tribe of Dan (one of the ten lost tribes) the stage was set for Comestor's identification of the nations enclosed by Alexander with the Ten Tribes.[8] An exegetical triangle, of which each element confirms and authenticates the other two, thus came into being and dominated medieval ideas concerning the *dramatis personae* of the End Times: the (Jewish) Antichrist will be accompanied by the savage 'unclean nations/Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander', who are the (Jewish) Ten Tribes.

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born in her, and Capharnaum because he will have reigned in her. For this reason in the third Gospel the Lord gave the following statement: 'Woe to you Chorozaim, woe to you Bethsaida, and to you Capharnaum -- if you have risen up to heaven, you will descend even to hell' (Luke 10,13-15). When the Son of Perdition has arisen, the king of the Romans will ascend Golgotha upon which the wood of the Holy Cross is fixed, in the place where the Lord underwent death for us. The king will take the crown from his head and place it on the cross and stretching out his hands to heaven will hand over the kingdom of the Christians to God the Father. The cross and the crown of the king will be taken up to heaven. [...] When the Cross has been lifted up on high to heaven, the king of the Romans will directly give up his spirit. Then every principality and power will be destroyed that the Son of Perdition may be manifest." McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 76. See Appendix C, no. 2, for Sackur's Latin text.

[8]. This association is noted by Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 102-103 -- but he does not mention the main medieval texts that developed, communicated or made credible this central feature of medieval apocalypticism.

3. Holy and Roman: Ancient Ideas Concerning Antichrist in the Early Middle Ages

The ancient tradition represented by the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl was decisive for medieval visions of the end. Hrabanus Maurus (c.776-856), Archbishop of Mainz, summed it up in the ninth century, adding what would be the standard Christian view of the Jewish Messiah for centuries to come: "The Jews dream of the coming of their Christ, whom we know to be the Antichrist."[9]

A ninth-century Latin lyric neatly compressed the essential elements of the ancient tradition into a few lines:

> Antichristus est venturus permitente domino
> In Babilonia nascetur conceptus de diabolo
> Dan de tribu erit ortus ex Ebreorum populo.[10]

The *Letter on the Antichrist* of the abbot Adso (910-992), composed around 950, was a compilation based largely on early medieval summaries of patristic teaching on the Antichrist.[11]

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[9]. Cited by Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, note 2 to chapter 2, page 224, from Friedrich Murawski, *Die Juden bei den Kirchenvätern und Scholastikern* (Berlin 1925), 36.

[10]. "The Antichrist will arrive when God decrees. He will be born in Babylon, having been conceived by the Devil. He will be descended from the tribe of Dan, of the Hebrew people." Cited by Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 83, from "Quique cupitis audire," in: *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi*, 4.1: *Rhythmi aevi Merovingici et Carolini*, *MGH* (Berlin, 1914), no. 88, stanza 2.

[11]. For a brief treatment of Adso's letter, see Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 153-164. The standard work on Adso is by Robert Konrad, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi. Antichrist-vorstellung und Geschichtsbild im des Abtes Adso von Montier-en-Der* (Kallmünz, 1964). See also McGinn, *Visions of the End*,

The *Letter* is modeled on a typical saint's life. Unlike the tradition of Tyconius -- in which the Antichrist is conceived of in corporate terms as consisting of enemies of the Church,[2] and which takes its cue from Jerome and Augustine --, Adso's *Letter* is personal and historical, not collective and moralizing.[3] Relying on the exegesis of 2 Thess. 2,4 by Haimo of Auxerre (+865/866),[4] which Adso copied nearly word-for-word, the abbot states that the Son of Perdition is neither a heathen nor a Christian, but a Jew, and not just any Jew, but the false Messiah. He circumcises himself and claims to be the Christ promised to the Jews; they, thinking to receive Christ,

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82-83. For the passages relevant to the Antichrist, see Appendix C, no. 3.

2. I.e., heretics or even Jews, or more specifically, the Devil himself (this was the common interpretation in the centuries from 500-900 C.E.): see Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter*.

3. The exegetical method of Tyconius (fourth century) was the foundation of the spiritual, as opposed to the 'carnal' (i.e., literal) understanding of Scripture, esp. the Hebrew Bible (in which he interpreted even the most obscure passages as *figurae* of the Church): see Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 102-121.

4. Long confused with Haimo, bishop of Halberstadt (+853), Haimo was a monk of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. His Revelation commentary ("Expositio in Apocalypsim", *PL* CXVII. 937-1220) was influenced by Ambrosius Autpertus (+778); the *Glossa ordinaria* drew on Haimo. See the article by Henri Barré, "Haymon d'Auxerre", in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique* VII (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969), part I, col. 91-97.

receive the Devil instead.[35]

Although Adso did not know the Tiburtine Sibyl, he was familiar with the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius, in which the Antichrist was also depicted as an individual. Adso 'westernized' the myth for local, west-Frankish consumption, substituting for the 'king of the Romans' or 'emperor of the Romans and Greeks' the 'rex Francorum'(his patron). These elements of Adso's version of the legend, repeated and spread by a rich manuscript tradition, helped shape the later history of Western thought concerning the Antichrist.[36]

4. The Allegorical Antichrist: German Symbolism

The Antichrist would continue to be interpreted by many clerical commentators as a corporate entity, the 'historical continuum of those who have attacked true religion throughout

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[35]. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 161; Sackur's edition of the "Libellus de ortu et de tempore Antichristi", 111; *PL* CI.1295d - 1296a (see Appendix C, no. 3); cf. Haimo, *PL* CXVII.779d - 780b.

[36]. The eleventh and twelfth centuries produced at least seven different Latin versions of Adso's *Letter*: McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 84. The text of Adso's *Letter* has been edited by Ernst Sackur, "Epistola Adsonis ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et tempore Antichristi", in: *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, 97-113, and by D. Verhelst, ed., *Adso Dervensis: De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*, CChrCM XLV. See McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 84-87, for the relevant passages in his translation.

history'.[27] The 'German symbolists' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were, in a sense, academic mystics, seeking a visionary grasp of the 'whole' of being, the Logos of the world: Rupert of Deutz (c.1070-1129) and Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179)[28] are archetypical representatives of this direction in German piety. The Antichrist is the theme of a mystical spirituality that places his 'mystery' in opposition to that of Christ. Topoi and images are the products of a symbolic thought that ingests and digests concrete phenomena in order to transmute them via symbols to the plane of a higher order of being.[29]

In his commentary on Revelation, Rupert interprets enemies of the Church -- simoniacs, Jews, heretics -- as heads

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[27]. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 103. Trachtenberg takes no notice of this rather less hostile vision of Jewish participation in the Last Things.

[28]. On Rupert, see the study by John H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). Van Engen hardly mentions the Antichrist, even when he discusses Rupert's commentary on Revelation (275-282). According to Van Engen, Rupert "saw the Book of Apocalypse in much more ecclesiological than eschatological terms", with all the 'action' leading to the establishment of the Church as the Heavenly Jerusalem (281).

Hildegard does not cast the Jews as servants of the Antichrist; rather, after his destruction, Christ will 'call the Synagogue back, as David took back his first wife after the death of Saul': Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 524, citing the *Scivias* I,5: *Scivias (Wisse die Wege) nach dem Originaltext des illuminierten Rupertsberger Codex deutsch*, ed. Maria Böckeler (Salzburg, 1954), 436.

[29]. Raud, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 175-176.

of the dragon and members of the *corpus diaboli* (demonic corporation). Rupert understands the hypocritical 'false monks' tropologically as adherents of the Antichrist. Clerical abuses are signs of the approaching End Time.

Although Rupert follows Irenaeus, Jerome, Gregory the Great and Adso in stating that the Antichrist was prefigured in the tribe of Dan ('the serpent in the path'),[70] he refuses to take this exegetical nostrum literally. Even though many 'authorities' see the Enemy as proceeding from this Jewish tribe, Rupert prefers a tropological interpretation. 'The Beast arising from the abyss' (Rev. 13) means a) he comes from the fiery depths of Hell, and b) the people from whom he comes are already in Hell.[71]

Rupert applies the same thinking to Gog and Magog and the Jews. The former belong to the *corpus Antichristi* along with the Jews, all hypocrites, heretics and heathens.[72] Nonetheless, he indulges in anti-Judaic exegesis that labels the Jews 'the sons of the Devil' and 'murderers' (of Christ)

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[70]. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 218, citing from Rupert, "In Genesim" IX,32 (*PL* CLXVII.557).

[71]. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 218, citing Rupert's Revelation commentary, VIII,134 (*PL* CLXIX.1064d; 1066b).

[72]. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 227, citing Rupert's commentary on Revelation XI,20 (*PL* CLXIX.1184b). Rauh notes that this view echoes those of Bede (*PL* XCIII.95d), Haimo of Auxerre (*PL* CXVII.782b; 1093c; 1101d), Berengaudus (*PL* XVII.970a) and Humbert, *adversa simplices* II,38 (*MGH* Libelli de lite I, 187) and the *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* CXIV.722c.

and sees in their opposition to the Gospel their support of the Antichrist. In the tradition of Jerome and Haimo, Rupert goes well beyond the Tyconian view of the abyss out of which the Beast will arise as Hell, adding "vel de profunda perfidia Judaeorum".[33] Thus, the *regnum carnalis Israel* (the fleshly realm of Israel) is called the second head of the Antichrist; since the Incarnation, the Jews have been a collective Antichrist;[34] conversely, they are actively awaiting the Antichrist.[35] Even if the Jews are no worse than other enemies of God, and even though he does not believe the Antichrist will be a Jewish person, Rupert does associate the Jews with the Antichrist.

To Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169), there is a procession of Antichrists, enemies of the church characterized as simoniacs, avaricious careerists, schismatics and shameless

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[33]. I.e., the Beast will arise from the abyss, or rather, from the unfathomable depths of Jewish treachery: Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 227-228, citing Haimo, "Expositio in Apocalypsim" IV,13 (*PL* CXVII.1092c).

[34]. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 228, citing Rupert's "In Joannem" V (*PL* CLXIX.431d - 432a; *CChrCM* IX.193).

[35]. "Ergo cum dicit frater ille: Nunquam dedisti mihi haedum [a symbol of the synagogue], fatigatio subintelligitur populi Judaici, suspirantis quod nondum acceperit Antichristum." Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 228, citing Rupert's "De S. Spiritu" VIII,16 (*PL* CLXVII.1801c-d). The Jews can have no better and no worse a role in the ranks of the Antichrist than heathens and heretics: the conversion of the Jews is more important than their serving the Antichrist (230).

ministers -- churchmen, mostly. Gerhoh is deeply indebted to Rupert of Deutz for his political apocalyptic critique. These enemies of the church will be followed by a final Antichrist, the 'dragon' of Revelation. His downfall will be accompanied by the destruction of his earthly ministers and servants, Gerhoh's chief concern.[6]

5. The Personal Antichrist: Christian Visions

These political and moralized visions have little to do with the mainly vernacular late-medieval and early-modern renderings of the Antichrist that are the subject of this inquiry. Such texts brook no niggling Scriptural interference in their exegetical narratives and are not interested in symbolic or allegorical explanations of Gog and Magog as the 'body' of Antichrist. Here, in the tradition of the Tiburtine Sibyl, echoed by Adso and many others among the ranks of both the Latinate and the illiterate, the Antichrist is an historical person who will live, preach and reign on earth in a parody of Christ's human existence. This version, not the spiritualized allegory of high theology, was picked up by the

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[6]. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 106-107, translating from *De quarta vigilia noctis*, ch. 16 (*MGH*, Libelli de lite, 3, 522-523). Rauh's chapter on Gerhoh (Gerhoch) is both an epitome of scholarship and a significant contribution in its own right: *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 416-474.

popular printing presses of the fifteenth century.[17] The Antichrist is a concrete individual who will interact with people on earth. Some will support him: the 'unclean peoples', Gog and Magog, the Jews, the 'Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander', the Red Jews, and the mass of unfortunates whom he 'deceives' and signs with his 'mark'. His enemies are those who resist him, the few believers, the remnant of Israel, Enoch and Elijah, the archangel Michael, or Christ himself. Dramatic scenes, not *quaestiones* and *distinctiones*, are the basic unit of this tale.[18]

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[17]. This tradition, which Emmerson calls 'standard and widely accepted', is but one of many views; the sixteenth-century Reformers would reject it entirely (see Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 204-237; esp. 215). Yet the concrete interpretation figures not only in the fifteenth-century *Antichrist* books, but also in the first printed edition of the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius (Cologne, 1475) and in Wolfgang Aytinger's Commentary on the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius (Johannes Froschauer published the first edition in 1496; Sebastian Brant produced an illustrated version in 1498 that had gone through seven more printings by 1576). The personal view co-existed with the Reformers' more political interpretation -- along the lines of Rupert's -- for many years.

[18]. Such scenes are not limited to dramatic art. Pictorial art also represented the Antichrist as a concrete person supported by the Jews. In his dissertation "The Iconography of Antisemitism: A Study of the Representation of the Jews in the Visual Arts of Europe 1400-1600", 2 vols. (New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1973; available from University Microfilms International), Eric Zafran refers to illustrated medieval versions of the Book of Revelation in which "the Satanic manifestations or their adherents could be portrayed with the hats or badge characteristic of the Jews" (25). However, Zafran fails to place these works even within a particular century, citing only his source, the venerable Ulysse Robert, *Les Signes d'infamie au moyen âge* (Paris,

To most medieval Christians, the stage was a suitable place to depict religious events, even theological principles. The spectacular elements of the more 'literal' Antichrist tradition made for excellent drama.[39] It has been suggested that a gradual change in Christian views of the Jewish role in the End Time occurred between the putatively 'less antisemitic' 12th century and the 'more antisemitic' 16th century. From necessary participants in the final conversion to Christ, the Jews came to be seen as servants and supporters of the Antichrist.[40] The evidence cited for the twelfth

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1891), 104.

[39]. Again, there is a large literature on this subject. For a detailed examination of the Antichrist in the drama of the middle ages, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, see Klaus Aichele, *Das Antichristdrama des Mittelalters, der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (The Hague, 1974). Hans-Peter Kursawa focuses on the German literature of the middle ages only in his published doctoral disseration *Antichristsage, Weltende und Jüngstes Gericht in mittelalterlicher deutscher Dichtung* (University of Cologne, 1976).

[40]. Selma Stern-Täubler, "Die Vorstellung vom Juden und vom Judentum in der Ideologie der Reformationszeit", in: *Essays presented to Leo Baeck on the occasion of his eightieth birthday* (London: East and West Library, 1954), 194-211; 207-208. A completely new understanding of 'the Jew' in the fifteenth century made Jews into apocalyptic figures who participated in the Final Things in a sinister fashion: they were 'schuld am Weltuntergang'. This development functions as the background to the treatment of the Jews during the Reformation era. A longer-term view is available from Klaus Geissler's lengthy discussion "Die Juden in mittelalterlichen Texten Deutschlands", in: *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 38,1 (1975), 163-226. Winfried Frey has made a more focussed contribution to the field in his article "Gottesmörder und Menschenfeinde", 44. The first to suggest this development, Trachtenberg cites the 'thirteenth-century'

century certainly supports part of this argument: the popular Tegernsee *Ludus paschali de adventu et interitu Antichristi* (mid-twelfth century) was addressed to and reached a fairly broad audience, even including women, though as a Latin play it was nominally addressed to the lower clergy and their clerical social superiors.[11] This well-known and much-imitated work has been called "the best literary product of German

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(sic: twelfth-century) Latin original of the medieval Antichrist plays, the Tegernsee *Ludus paschalis de adventu et interitu Antichristi*, which accords the Jews "a somewhat incidental role", since they convert only after the Antichrist has made large conquests; but later German and French versions, "following the popular disposition, display the Jews as prime movers in the drama": *The Devil and the Jews*, 36.

[11]. Karl Langosch, ed., *Geistliche Spiele, Lateinische Dramen des Mittelalters mit deutschen Versen* (Darmstadt, 1957), 179-241. Rauh describes the origins and context of this play at length in an entire chapter, 365-415. Rauh dates the work to the period between 1155 and 1161 (369). The play was well-known by 1161 or 1162, and was staged in southern German monasteries and perhaps even parish churches, as attested to by Gerhoh von Reichersberg's condemnation of clerics who, instead of devoting themselves to divine service, prefer to watch idle plays: "adeo ut ecclesias ipsas, videlicet orationum domus, in theatra commutent ac mimicis ludorum spectaculus impleant. Inter quae nimirum spectacula, astantibus ac spectantibus ipsorum feminis, interdum et Antichristi" (cited by Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 368, from Gerhoh von Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi libri III*, ed. F. Scheibelberger [Linz 1875]; *MGH* Libelli de lite III, ed. Ernst Sackur [1897], 305-395; I,5). Emmerson examines the play in considerable detail (*Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 166-172). Recent editions of the play are Gerhard Günther's *Der Antichrist: Der staufische Ludus de Antichristo* (Hamburg 1970), including an extensive commentary, and a translation by John Wright, *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1967).

ecclesiastical life in the twelfth century."[42] It borrowed from Adso, the Pseudo-Methodius, the Vulgate and the liturgy, but it shows no signs of a particularly antisemitic attitude. Only after he has conquered the Greeks, the French, the Germans, and finally the King of Babylon does the Antichrist send his apostles to the Jews to persuade them that he is their Messiah. The Jews are briefly deceived by the Antichrist, but convert to Christ after hearing the voice of the prophets.[43] In the tradition of Otto of Freising,[44] the

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[42]. Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), vol. 2, 395.

[43]. Geissler, "Juden in mittelalterlichen Texten", 203. Geissler notes that this text is also eminently political, 'the apotheosis of the imperial idea of the Staufen emperors' (202-203). This is the non-Tyconian position taken in the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis (+ after 1137) by the writer (or interpolator) of the passage on the Antichrist: the Antichrist is seen in 'medieval' terms as a human being, a tyrant, the renewer of Jerusalem, the Jewish false Messiah around whom the people of Israel will gather from all over the world. However, Enoch and Elijah will convert the Jews to Christianity. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 253-254; 255, citing the *Elucidarium* III,10 (*PL* CLXXVII.1163c-d; ed. Y. Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires* (Paris, 1954), 359-477; 453). The relatively mild tone of the Tegernsee *Antichrist*-play contrasts with the savage satire of the contemporaneous poet Walter of Châtillon:

> "Miseranter miseror miseros Hebreos,
> Qui verbis et opere se fatentur mecs;
> Exspectant, ut veniam et reducam eos
> Et rursus restituam Judea Judeos."

(Cited by Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 406, from *Walther von Châtillon, Moralisch-satirische Gedichte*, ed. K. Strecker [Heidelberg 1929], 142, Song XVI,12).

[44]. Cf. Rauh's chapter on Otto (c.1114-1158), the 'master of medieval world chronicles and the leading historian of German Symbolism' covers pages 302-365. So far as Otto was

Ludus de Antichristo entirely lacks the 'Adsonian' motives that characterize the Antichrist as Jewish: his descent from the tribe of Dan, his circumcision, or the reconstruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. The author steers clear of all anti-Jewish polemic, which even Rupert had not been able to avoid. Jerusalem is displaced in a rather Augustinian moment by the 'Great City', the *civitas diaboli* (city of the Devil), as the 'home' of the Antichrist.[45] The Synagogue is treated with dignity, indeed the Jews are cast as Antichrist's victims when after hearing Enoch and Elijah, they declare: "Seducti fuimus vere per Antichristum, / Qui mentitur esse se Judeorum Christum".[46]

The Latin ecclesiastical drama of this period is characterized by a singular consciousness that the Jews are necessary to the action and history of salvation, and that

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concerned, the Antichrist would deceive both Christians and Jews: *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 354.

[45]. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 406-407.

[46]. 'We were deceived by the Antichrist / Who lied, saying he was the Christ [Messiah] of the Jews': Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist*, 408, citing the *Ludus de Antichristo* II,8 (Langosch 234). Rauh cites E.A.F. Michaelis' intriguing idea that the 'positive' view of the Synagogue is due to the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, who intervened energetically against the persecution of the Jews, esp. in the Rhineland, at the time of the Second Crusade: "Zum Ludus de Antichristo", in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 54 (1913), 61-87; 83.

they will convert at the end.[47] However, the middle High German (and middle French) versions of this material would cast the Jews as evil, apocalyptic destroyers, especially in the period after the Black Death.[48]

From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, Antichrist plays depicted Jews not as the last, temporary subjects of the

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[47]. Geissler, "Juden in mittelalterlichen Texten", 199-202. Geissler also maintains that courtly literature often shows a relatively tolerant, 'polite' attitude toward Jews (esp. the work of Wolfram von Eschenbach: 194-199), whereas the poets of the 'early bourgeoisie' start in the thirteenth century to take a tougher stand based on ancient ecclesiastical positions toward the Jews (199). Geissler argues that since there can be no question of 'antisemitism in the modern sense' existing in the middle ages (200), the hostility directed against Jews in vernacular literature of a less lofty sort was not a function of their different 'ethnicity' (Stammeszugehörigkeit), but of their different faith, since as outsiders under the protection of the authorities, they offered an easy target (201). See chapter 2 for a discussion of the terms 'antisemitism' and 'anti-Judaism'. Frey, "Gottesmörder", gives a brief summary of the Tegernsee *Ludus de Antichristo* on page 44 then contrasts it with the German Lucerne *Antichrist*-play of 1549, as the opposite extreme.

[48]. Geissler, "Juden in mittelalterlichen Texten", 202-204. 1348 was a 'turning point', according to Geissler (210). Vernacular translations of Latin texts were far more *judenfeindlich* (anti-Jewish) than the originals, Geissler notes (204). By the later middle ages, the Jews were no longer a necessary part of the history of salvation, but a projection into that sacred narrative of a contemporary *Feindbild* (stereotyped image of an enemy) (202). The anti-Judaic tendency of early 'clerical' (mostly Latin) plays, which sets in after the twelfth century, is outdone by what Geissler does not want to admit is antisemitism -- the all-encompassing hatred of Jews -- in the later medieval 'secular' (mostly vernacular) plays (e.g., the works of Folz and Gengenbach) (225).

Antichrist, but as his first and foremost adherents.[49] The surviving directions for the 14th-century Frankfurt Passion Play betray a slightly different emphasis,[50] but the Donaueschingen Passion Play assigns the Jews an equally evil role at the End.[51]

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[49]. Frey leaps from the twelfth to the sixteenth century to illustrate the difference; yet he need have looked no farther than the late thirteenth century for evidence that the Antichrist would be supported by Jews: around 1260, Hugo Ripelin de Argentina brought out his *Compendium theologicae veritatis* (see *infra* in this chapter for a more detailed discussion). Frey, "Gottesmörder", 44-45. The sixteenth-century play is the German-language *Antichrist*-play of Lucerne, edited by Karl Reuschel, *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung, nebst dem Abdruck des Luzerner 'Antichrist' von 1549* (Leipzig 1906; =Teutonia, 4).

[50]. Frey, "Gottesmörder", 44. The elaborate stage directions (all that survives of this play) have been edited by Richard Froning, ed., "Die Frankfurter Dirigierrolle", in: *Das Drama des Mittelalters. Die lateinischen Osterfeiern und ihre Entwicklung in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1891-1892/reprint Darmstadt, 1964; = Deutsche National-Litteratur 14), 340-374. See Edith Wenzel, "Synagoge und Ecclesia. Zum Antijudaismus im deutschsprachigen Spiel des Mittelalters", in: *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 12 (1987), 57-81; esp. 59-64; for the dating (before 1350), 61. Wenzel notes that the tone of this play, esp. in the formulaic disputation scene, is still moderate and fairly respectful of 'Synagoga', the 'elder sister' and regal opponent of now-triumphant 'Ecclesia' -- in keeping with what Wenzel describes as the more moderate tone vis-à-vis the Jews in pre-Plague Europe (61). See also Wolfgang F. Michael, *Frühformen der deutschen Bühne* (Berlin 1963; = Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 62), 26-35.

[51]. Anthonius Touber, ed., *Das Donaueschinger Passionsspiel*. Frey, "Gottesmörder", cites (44-45) the clear-headed argument of Barbara Könneker to the effect that the actual goal of the redactor is to justify Christian hatred of Jews: "Das Donaueschinger Passionsspiel", in: *Euphorion* 79 (1985), 13-42; 38.

In comparison, the only extant medieval French Antichrist play, the *Jour du Jugement* (c. 1330),[52] a more secular version of the apocalyptic material, was didactic in tone and much more antisemitic than its twelfth-century Latin predecessor. At the end of time, a devil will father a child on a whore at Babylon, a Jewess from the tribe of Dan. The child will be Antichrist. Emmerson notes that the speeches of the devils and of the mother "particularly emphasize that ... the mother is a Jew of the tribe of Dan".[53] At the end, when Enoch and Elijah preach, the Jews -- traditionally the first to be converted by the prophets -- resist them, labelling them false prophets, traitors and hypocrites, finally killing them at the orders of Antichrist.[54] Written just as the Jews were being expelled from France in stages by means of a series of edicts and counteredicts, this play supports the contention that the more secular and vernacular drama of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was markedly more hostile to the Jews than the ecclesiastical Latin drama of an earlier age.

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[52]. Available in a fully-illustrated manuscript of the Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon (MS 579), it has been edited by Emile Roy, *Le Jour du Jugement: Mystère français sur le Grand Schisme*, Etudes sur le théâtre francais au xive siècle (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1902). I have relied on the description by Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 172-180.

[53]. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 174.

[54]. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 176-177.

The Chester Corpus Christi cycle (which includes sections called The Coming of Antichrist -- the only extant middle English Antichrist play -- and The Last Judgment) presents the Antichrist's life with very few characters and without the detail that the French and Latin plays lavished on him and his followers.[55] The Jews are not singled out as the particular servants of Antichrist. However, the Antichrist does claim to be the Messiah promised by Moses, David and Isaiah. He does just what Christian exegetes had long been thinking he would do.[56] Although the play was not representative, it did concur with mainstream Christianity in seeing the Jewish Messiah in the 'Christian', or rather, Jewish, Antichrist.

The view that attitudes toward the Jews changed and that they were cast in a new and sinister role in the entourage of the final enemy seems to be based on a selection of sources taken largely from a single genre, that of the drama

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[55]. For an edition of the Chester cycle, see R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, vol. 1 (*Text*); vol. 2 (*Commentary and Glossary*) (London: Early English Text Society SS 3, 1974 and 1986). On the dating and authorship of the cycle see Lawrence M. Clopper, "The History and Development of the Chester Cycle", in: *Modern Philology* 75 (1978), 219-246. Clopper insists that the traditional dating to the 1320s is untenable, and that the earliest date supported by reliable evidence for a performance is 1422. See also F.M. Salter, *Mediaeval Drama in Chester* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), 33-42; Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 180-187, and Linus Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1940).

[56]. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 181.

(including paschal passion plays and carnival plays, as well as less 'occasion-bound' works).[57] Hugo Ripelin made it abundantly clear in the thirteenth century that the broad masses of the Jewish people (*plebs iudaica*) would be the especial supporters of Antichrist.

The 13th-century Franciscan preacher Berthold of Regensburg (c. 1210-1272) represents a much older view of the Jewish role at the End: Berthold argues (in the Augustinian tradition) that the Jews are to be tolerated for two reasons: 1) because they are living reminders of Christ's Passion; 2) because any Jews who survive the Antichrist's time will

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[57]. Nonetheless, the thesis is correct for a large body of influential literature. Trachtenberg cites the opinions of 'Albertus Magnus' (sc. Hugo Ripelin) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), who devoted considerable attention to the Antichrist legend, holding "that Antichrist will be born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, will proceed to Jerusalem, where he will be circumcised, and will easily persuade the Jews that he is their long-awaited Messiah. He will then rebuild the temple, establish his throne there, and proclaim himself god. By means of miraculous deeds, bribes, and sheer force he will rapidly accumulate a vast army of adherents, but his power is destined to endure only three and a half years. God will then send Enoch and Elijah to raise an opposition against him, but he will overcome and slay them. Thereupon Christ will dispatch the archangel Michael to destroy him on the Mount of Olives." *The Devil and the Jews*, 34, cited from Preuß, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist*, 11 ff. Trachtenberg claims that the popular view tended to follow that of the schoolmen, but included 'lush detail'; he does not mention that the schoolmen were following the well-known Sibylline and Pseudo-Methodian tradition, which is clear from a comparison of the above condensation with the texts cited above.

convert to Christianity before the Last Day.[18] Bernard is much closer to Rupert of Deutz, Augustine and Jerome, a representative of the same 'moderate' position expressed in the Tegernsee *Ludus de Antichristo*.

The more popular, and probably more usual tradition cast the Jews in a markedly apocalyptic light, both in Latin theology and in vernacular exegetical and literary works, and well before the putative divide of the Black Death. In his *Historia scholastica* (c.1163), Peter Comestor made the definitive identification of the apocalyptic destroyers of biblical and literary lore 'Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander' with the Jewish ten lost tribes -- at approximately the same time as the Tegernsee play came into being. The previous two chapters have traced the influence of the Comestorine conflation and the many further elaborations accorded it, especially in vernacular German literature, until the fifteenth century. Berthold of Regensburg, who was not known for friendly feelings toward the Jews, evinced a

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[18]. Frey, "Gottesmörder", 38: The second reason: "Unde durch ein ander sache: swaz ir den endekrist überlebt, die werdent vor dem jungesten tage alle ze kristenliuten" Cited from Franz Pfeiffer, ed., *Berthold von Regensburg. Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten mit Anmerkungen* (Vienna, 1862-1880/Reprint Berlin, 1965; =Deutsche Neudrucke, Texte des Mittelalters), 1, 363. The vicious tone of the sermons in general must also be considered: the Talmud is "allez sament ketzerîe, unde dâ stêt sô verfluochtiu ketzerîe an, daz daz übel ist daz sie lebent." (vol. 1, 401): 'heresy through and through, and there is such damnable heresy in it that it is sickening that they are allowed to live'.

'cautious' attitude toward their final role in the history of salvation. However, his Dominican contemporary Hugo Ripelin of Strasbourg, whose work would exert a decisive influence on later-medieval ideas concerning the Antichrist and the Jews, had a very different view, based at least in part on the ancient traditions of the Tiburtine Sibyl and the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius.

Hugo's *Compendium theologicae veritatis*[59] followed the Tiburtine/Adsonian tradition concerning the descent of the Antichrist, who was to be born of the Jewish tribe of Dan. He would claim to be the Jewish Messiah, and the Jewish people would be his special and foremost adherents.[60] Hugo was not

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[59]. This was the most widespread basic sketch of scholastic theology in the later middle ages and Reformation era. It went through almost 40 printings, and owed much of its medieval vogue to the fact that it was greatly indebted to Bonaventure's 'Breviloquium' and to the works of Albert the Great; indeed, it was generally mistaken for the work of one or the other (Burger, "Endzeiterwartungen", 21, esp. note 8). For a complete listing and investigation of the manuscript and printed tradition, see Georg Steer's monumental study, *Hugo Ripelin von Straßburg. Zur Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte des 'Compedium theologicae veritatis' im deutschen Spätmittelalter* (Tübingen, 1981). For the passages from the *Compendium* concerning the Antichrist, see Appendix C, no. 4.

[60]. "[Antichristus] nascetur autem in babilone de tribu Dan, sicut dicit glossa super apocalypsim. Post hoc veniet in hierusalem, et circumcidet se dicens iudeis se esse christum illis promissum. Unde plebs iudaica specialiter adherebit illi, sicut dicit Haymo super Apocalypsim." For the full text of this passage and notes, see Appendix C, no. 4. Trachtenberg cites numerous examples of this hostile and polemical imputation -- in which anti-Judaic and antisemitic motives are inseparable --, even dating it to "the early Christian era", although he does not cite a source. An eleventh-century

above inventing sources for this assertion.[91] His thinking on the Antichrist is concrete and personal, whereas the *Glossa ordinaria* he carelessly cites calls the Beast of Rev. 13,1, 'in a spiritual sense the Antichrist, or generally the entire number of the wicked'.[92]

Ramón Lull (ca. 1235-1315) inveighs against the Jews for awaiting a Messiah who is a man, not God, and who will liberate them from their physical and political captivity. But their captivity is their sinfulness, and since the arrival of a mere man cannot remove their sins (as Christ could), the Jews are therefore in error.[93] This does not suggest that the

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formula of renunciation of Judaism required the convert to anathematize 'all those who hope for the coming of the Messiah, or rather of the Antichrist': *The Devil and the Jews*, 32. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the Tortosa Jewry oath required a Jew to swear "per mesías qui es dit Antecrist, lo cual vosaltres esperats" ('by the Messiah, who is called the Antichrist, for whom you people are waiting'); cited in *The Devil and the Jews*, note 2 to chapter 2 (224), from José Amador de los Rios, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1875-76), three vols.; vol. I, 572.

91. See notes to the Latin text, Appendix C, number 4.

92. *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* CXIV.733b: "'Et vidi' etc. Bestia spiritualiter est Antichristus, vel generaliter tota collectio malorum." This view is shared by Hugh of St. Cher (Appendix B, no. 17) and Hugo a Novo Castro (Appendix B, no. 26).

93. "Item iudei sunt in captivitate christianorum et sarracenorum, ut patet experientia, et dicunt quod sunt in captivitate propter peccatum, et sic sequitur quod illi qui sunt mortui in peccato, cum peccatum sit causa captivitatis eorum, et sic sunt damnati. Iudei spectant Messiam, et dicunt ipsum esse hominem, et non Deum, et desiderant suum advantum ut eos eliciat a captivitate, et siquidem prodest eis illius

Messiah awaited by the Jews is the Antichrist, but it leaves room for such an interpretation. Rather, Lull deplores the concrete, personal idea of the Jewish Messiah. Their captivity is the result of sin, not merely of physical exile. Here, a 'spiritual' Christian exegete condemns 'fleshly' Jewish belief, although much of Christian tradition concerning the Antichrist is itself 'fleshly'. Perhaps Lull would have argued that Adso, Hugo and their successors had been contaminated by Jewish ideas.

Although Hugo may have consulted a different version of the Ordinary Gloss on the Bible,[74] the difference between his almost 'hagiographic' description of the Antichrist and the moralizing method of the Gloss, echoed by Lull's critique of Jewish Messianic hopes, is striking: this is the same divide as that which separates the personal Antichrist depicted in the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl, the *Revelationes* of the Pseudo-Methodius, Adso's *Letter*, the Antichrist passage in the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis, Comestor, Hugo

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adventus qui sunt mortui in captivitate et in peccato, cum suus adventus non removeat peccatum; concluditur ergo quod Iudei sunt in errore ..." José Maria Millás Vallicrosa, ed., *El "Liber predicationis contra Judeos"* (Madrid/Barcelona 1957), 100; 16th Sermon Against the Jews, lines 23-31.

[74]. See Karl Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson, *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria. Introduction to the Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rusch of Strasbourg 1480/81* (Turnhout: Brepols 1992) for a thorough discussion of the variants available in the middle ages, their sources, editors, manuscript and printed editions.

Ripelin,[95] and most of the middle High German texts cited in the preceding chapters, from the spiritualizing tendencies of Tyconius, Jerome and Augustine, Rupert of Deutz, Gerhoh von Reichersberg, the Ordinary Gloss, Hugh of St. Cher and Hugo a Novo Castro. The concrete reality of the Antichrist and of his Jewish servants (the Ten Tribes, the Red Jews, or merely the Jewish people) is part of an historical, perhaps even 'secular'[96] version of the history of salvation. This version has little in common with the moralizing and allegorical theological position that could still allow the Jews a relatively innocuous role in the Eschaton. These authors avoid any precise identification of the Antichrist and his forces, and insist on the conversion of the Jews. This last prediction might be called 'historical' as opposed to 'allegorical', but in fact, the role the Jews play in this well-known scenario is perfectly in keeping with their typological function as branches broken from the good olive tree, onto which the new branches of Christianity have been grafted (Romans 11,17-24). The broken branches (the Jews) must be re-grafted onto the original tree (by conversion) to fulfil the prophecies

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[95]. Hugo does offer as an alternative explanation the views of Augustine and Jerome; but his late-medieval reception tended not to get beyond the idea that he mentions first, namely that Gog and Magog are the Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander the Great beyond the Caspian Mountains.

[96]. By 'secular', I mean an understanding that remains within the human time-frame.

concerning the deliverance of Israel. For all the anti-Judaic sentiment of the Pauline certainty that the Jews will convert, it is the less hostile of these visions of the end.

The Tegernsee *Antichrist* play and the views of Bernard of Clairvaux represent a variant position that incorporates elements of those just sketched: Antichrist is a real person, but the Jews are not his particular servants. Bernard and the Tegernsee *Ludus de Antichristo* are in accord with anti-Judaic religious views that looked backward to the crucifixion and forward to the final conversion. This less-hostile view of the Jews' function at the end did not disappear, but it was drowned out during the later Middle Ages, at least in the majority of Latin and vernacular treatments. The more popular and usual antisemitic identification of Jews with the forces of evil at the end of time is based on legends, literature and exegesis both in the vernacular and in Latin, which feature a straightforward and concrete depiction of such personages as the Antichrist or the Red Jews. The moralizing, allegorizing interpretations that looked to Scriptural and patristic authority for information to make sense of the world did not find a place in the majority of late-medieval sources, which mined the Bible and Fathers for citations that could be used to plate their position in the armor of authority.

6. The German Antichrist: Vernacular and Latin Sources from the Holy Roman Empire

A series of Latin and vernacular texts that associate the Antichrist with Jews -- of whatever kind -- can be traced from late antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages. In the following pages, passages from medieval Latin and middle High German exegetical texts (many of which have been discussed in the last two chapters) that circulated in the German-speaking lands and that feature an historical Antichrist attended by Jews are passed in review. The object of this survey is to prepare for a discussion of fifteenth-century apocalyptic texts that specifically link the Antichrist and the Jews, including the Red Jews. Texts we have already discussed from the perspective of the information they provide about the forgotten Red Jews will now be considered from the perspective of what they have to say about the Antichrist and his Red Jewish servants.

A. The Red Jews and Antichrist

Heinrich of Neustadt combines in his *Von Gottes Zukunft* (c. 1300)[97] the details of the Antichrist story (familiar from the Tiburtine Sibyl and Hugo Ripelin's *Compendium*) with the Alexander legend (including the ancient story of the Amazons)

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[97]. See chapter IV for a discussion centering on the Red Jews, and Appendix A, no. 3, for the middle High German text and my English translation.

and the specifically German tale of the Red Jews. This precise mix will occur again, in the 15th-century *Antichrist* books. A similar concoction (except for the 'German' Red Jews) can be found in Alfonso de Espina's *Fortalicium fidei*[68] and such texts as Pamphilius Gengenbach's 1517 play *Der Nollhart*.[69] According to Heinrich's version, when the Antichrist arises to conquer the earth, he sends for Gog and Magog and the Red Jews, 'evil peoples' "who must serve my power: God has granted this to me".[70] The Red Jews are merely a part of Heinrich's excursus on the Antichrist and the last days. He notes at the end of the passage that the Jews will convert and there will be no telling Jews from Gentiles. The conversion prophecy finds its way into personal Antichrist narratives as well.

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[68]. First printed 1471; see below in this chapter for details and a more thorough treatment.

[69]. *Der Nolhart. Diß sind die prophetien sancti Methodii und Nollhardi welche sind gespielt worden im xv^c^ und xvii Ior von ettlichen Burgeren einer loblichen stat Basel* (Basel 1517; I used Wolfenbüttel 263 Quod.); another edition: *Die prophecien sancti Methodii und Nolhardi* (Augsburg [J. Schönsperger], 1517). Gengenbach (ca.1480-1524/25) was a printer, bookseller and *Meistersinger* who became a citizen of Basel in 1511. A modern edition has been prepared by V. Uffer, *Der Nollhart* (Stuttgart/Bern, 1982; = Schweizer Texte, 1). See H. Rupprich, *Die deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock. Erster Teil (1371-1520)* (Munich, 1970), 287.

[70]. "Die bose diet" of line 5856 refers to "Die roden Juden, daz volg Gog, / Amazones und Magog, / Und waz der himel hat bedaht, / Daz muz dinen miner maht: / Das hat Got mir gegeben": see Appendix A, number 3, lines 5856 and 5550-5554, respectively.

The middle High German version of the Passau *Anonymous* (c. 1330) pushes the identification of the Antichrist, the Red Jews and the Jewish Messiah even farther. "The Jews and many Judaizing Christians[1] imagine that this people [the Red Jews] is holy: they would be glad if they were to come, and would join their ranks immediately."[2] "These Jews, who are also called the Red Jews" are the focus of the passage; they are kept locked up by God's might only until the time of the Antichrist, when they will be let loose.

Thus, not only is the Messiah awaited by the Jews none other than the Antichrist, but Gog and Magog (who will accompany the Antichrist) are the Red Jews -- and thus identical with the Ten Tribes awaited by 'the Jews and Judaizing Christians' as a 'holy people', their deliverers.[3] This underlines the parallel between seeing the Jewish Messiah

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1. A reference to Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, XI, 38 (*PL* XXV.372c - 373a; *CChr* LXXV.525, 1476-1482; 526, 1497-1500); see Appendix B, no. 6 for full text of passage. Jerome says the Jews and Judaizing Christians believe Gog to be the numberless Scyths "beyond the Caucasus, by the Caspian Sea". Jerome disagrees, arguing that the Apocalypse of John is to be understood in a mystical sense, and that Gog and Magog are "all the perverse and evil enemies of the church".

2. "Nun wenend die juden vnd ettlich jüdisch kristen, das selb volk syend hailig lüt vnd sechend gern, wenne sy komen, wann si kerend zehant in ir schar." (lines 40-43). For the full text of the passage and an English translation, see Appendix A, number 4.

3. For a more detailed discussion of this belief, see section VII of this chapter.

as the Antichrist and seeing the Ten Tribes as apocalyptic destroyers, the Red Jews. In both cases, a Jewish belief that had a significant influence on Christianity is interpreted in terms of the distorted images medieval Christians formed of its original content.

The middle Low German *sielen trost* (ca. 1370) tells nearly the same story as Hugo Ripelin, with the notable addition of the 'Red Jews, who are enclosed' (by Alexander).[4] However, the Antichrist says not that he is the Messiah of the Jews, but Christ, God's son. The Red Jews 'follow' (serve) him, rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, worship him as a god, say he is Christ and that 'our Lord Jesus Christ' was the Antichrist: therefore the Antichrist is the Messiah of the Red Jews. In the middle High German and early modern German versions (*Der Grosse Seelentrost*), he is the Messiah of the Jews.

In the 14th/15th-century translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*,[5] the Red Jews are identified as the 'Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander'. The passage concentrates on the Alexander story. The reference to the Antichrist is almost

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[4]. See chapter IV for the discussion of the Red Jews and Appendix A, no. 7 for the full text of the passage and my translation.

[5]. *Gesta Romanorum, Das ist der Roemer Tat*; see chapter IV and Appendix A, number 8 for this passage in middle High German and an English translation.

incidental: "When this same people [the Red Jews] breaks out with their Antichrist and martyrs the people [Christians], he [God] will do great signs."[76] The Antichrist is peculiar to the Red Jews ('their Antichrist'), and the focus is clearly on this 'evil people'. It would seem as though the Antichrist were mentioned merely to authenticate the apocalyptic 'credentials' of the Red Jews. But the Apocalypse can hardly be imagined without the Antichrist. Here is a decidedly 'popular' shift in emphasis based on strong anti-Jewish sentiment that is less immediate to Revelation than to the menace of the Red Jews. This is also the most extreme form of association between Antichrist and the Red Jews: he is 'theirs', their Messiah.

One version of the middle High German Historiated Bible[77] (14th/15th century) also tells the story of the Antichrist in a variation very close to that offered by Hugo Ripelin. The Antichrist is born of the tribe of Dan in Babylon; he will be circumcised in order to pose as the Jewish Messiah, and all the Jews will hasten to him; he will send out twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples to preach his message. The

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[76]. "Wann daz selb volk chumt mit irem antichrist auz und marternt die læut so tuot er grœssers zaichen durch seinen willen." (lines 23-25).

[77]. *Die mittelhochdeutschen Historienbibeln*, Family I, "Dô got in siner magenkraft" (vol. 2), 487-488: see Appendix B, no. 28 for full passage and translation.

dénouement is as expected.

The most striking exemplar of this tradition is the German *Antichrist* 'blockbook'. First printed around 1450 in a transitional format, in which the images are woodcut prints and the text hand-written, the chiroxylographic *Antichrist* of c.1450 is not merely an *unicum*, it is an unique testimonial from the dawn of Western printing to the urgency and popularity of this theme. The oldest surviving manuscript dates to 1430.[8] There are eight manuscripts extant.[9] A xylographic edition (text and images are woodcuts: Nuremberg 1472) and a number of typographically printed editions (e.g., the Strasbourg *Antichrist* of 1480 with woodcut illustrations) are also known.[10] An English edition, published by the astute businessman Wynkyn de Worde, begins with the words *The Byrth and Lyfe of the Moost False and Deceytfull Antechryste*. This version appeared around 1520. It was based on an edition

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[8]. Burger, "Endzeiterwartungen", 18.

[9]. Burger, "Endzeiterwartungen", 19.

[10]. Another fifteenth-century xylographic version, undated and without place of publication, can be added to the list: *Enndtkrist. Hie hebet sich ann von dem Entkrist* (title incomplete), 27 sheets in-folio; and another undated typographic edition, without place of publication, of 20 sheets, also in-folio. Another edition came out at Strasbourg in-quarto, published by Hupfuff, undated; there is also a late Erfurt edition by Hans Maler (Maller), in-quarto, typographic, of 1516: Theodor Oswald Weigel, *Verzeichnis der Xylographischen Bücher des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1856), 6.

published as early as 1505, and was derived at least in part from the German *Antichrist*-books, though it does not mention the Red Jews.[41] The Jews, however, are intimately involved in the career of the Antichrist in this version as well. The late fifteenth-century French[42] and Spanish[43] lives of Antichrist are not unimportant, but they also are derived in large part from the earlier German *Antichrist*-books. The paucity of surviving editions and the isolation of these texts, compared to the proliferation of Antichrist material in German, justify the narrower focus chosen here.

More important than these details of publishing are the

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[41]. The other sources of the English text are the *Livre de Auctorites de Sainctes Docteurs: Touchant de L'Advenement et du mauvais Antechrist* (sic) (Lyons 1495) and *The Coming of Antichrist*, included in *The Art to Live Well and Die Well* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1505). See Joseph M. Ricke's Ph.D. thesis "The Antichrist Vita at the End of the Middle Ages: An Edition of The Byrth and Lyfe of the Moost False and Deceytfull Antechryst" (Houston: Rice University, 1982), available through University Microfilms International. Ricke's edition is a transcription of the sole surviving print, preserved at Cambridge University Library, Syn. 7.52.17.

[42]. *L'Advenement de l'Antechrist* (Paris: Antoine Verard, 1492), in-folio, typographic; later printed with several other works to form *L'Art de Bien Vivre et de Bien Mourir* (Paris, Antoine Verard, 1493); the *Livre de Auctorites de Sainctes Docteurs: Touchant de l'Advenement et du Mauvais Antechrist* (sic) (Lyon, 1495); *La vie du mauvais Antechrist* (Lyon, 1499, in-folio; and Antwerp, 1560, in-octo, typographic). Contemporary Latin editions included *De Antichristo auctoritas sanctorum doctorum* (Milan, 1496), in-folio, and *De turpissima conceptione, nativitate et aliis praesag. diab. illius pessimi homimum antichristi* (Paris: Le Noir, undated), in-quarto, typographic. See Weigel, *Verzeichnis*, 6-7.

[43]. *Libro del Antichristo* (Saragossa 1496); typographic.

form and content of the text. On fol. 5, plate 'a' of *Antichrist 1480*, the Antichrist is shown being circumcised at Jerusalem. He announces to the Jews that he is "the Messiah promised them, for whom they have waited for so long, as the *Compendium* says."[44] In 5b, "the Jews begin to rebuild the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed long ago by the Roman emperors Titus and Vespasian. The Jews say that their God has arrived."[45] Antichrist calls himself the 'true Messiah' and 'true God on earth'.[46] On fol. 11a, "the Antichrist has the Jews marked on the forehead and on the right hand as a sign that they believe in him, as is written in the Apocalypse of John in the *Compendium*, 7".[47] As noted in

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[44]. "Czu ierusalem lot sich der Enndkrist beschniden / noch der alten ee . und spricht zu" den juden. Er sey messias der in verheissen sy. Des sy alslang gewartet haben. Und das stot ouch in Compendio." *Antichrist 1480*, 5a.

[45]. "Hye hebent die juden den Tempel Salomonis zu" ierusalem wider an zu bu"en. Der vor zyten czerstö"rt wart/von den romischen keisern Tyto und Vespasiano. Und die juden sprechen/ir got sy kumen." *Antichrist 1480*, 5b. See Appendix A, no. 11b. The detail is from the *Compendium*: "Judei namque templum quod romani destruxerant reedificabunt." See Appendix C, no. 4, lines 41-42.

[46]. "Der wor messias" and "worer got uff erden": *Antichrist 1480*, 12b and 13a.

[47]. "Der Enndkrist heysset die juden bezeichen an die stirn. Und uff die rechten hand/zu" einem zeichen das sy an in glouben. das stet geschriben in Appocalipsi johannis in Compendio septimo": *Antichrist 1480*, 11a. Here the sealing of the servants of God (Rev. 7.3-17), who are twelve thousand of each of the twelve tribes of Israel (i.e., including the ten 'lost' tribes) with a sign on the forehead is confused with

chapter IV, the Antichrist sends out his 'apostles' to preach and convert the world to him. One of these messengers preaches to the Queen of the Amazons and the Red Jews; "these same Jews will break out at the time of the Antichrist." The connection between the Red Jews and the Antichrist is not just their simultaneous appearance: the Red Jews break out in order to join the Antichrist after he has manifested himself at Jerusalem for the battle against Christendom. Like the Jews who rebuild the Temple (another detail from the *Compendium*, see *Antichrist 1480*, 5b), the military Red Jews are his particular followers.

The illustration to 13b[*] depicts a 'false apostle' preaching to the Queen of the Amazons, a lady-in-waiting, and a bearded male figure bearing a scepter and girded with a sword. He is not wearing a Jew's hat, but his beard and the content of the caption make it clear that he is one of the Red

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the sealing of the servants of the Beast on the right hand or forehead (Rev 13,16-18); the confusion will continue with the repetition of the sealing of the servants of Antichrist in 16b and 17b. The source used by the author is not the Apocalypse of St. John, but Hugo's *Compendium*, as the text indicates: "et omnes suo caractere signari in manu dextra, et in frontibus suis sicut habet Apocalipsim 13[,17]": see Appendix C, no. 4 for the full passage from the *Compendium*. This confusion reflects the current belief that the Jews will be the servants of Antichrist, not the suggestion in Rev. 7 that the servants of God will consist of all twelve tribes of Israel; it would have been improbable had the author been well-versed in the Vulgate. He generally cites Scripture via the *Compendium*, which suggests that he was not consulting the Bible.

[*]. See Appendix D, no. 5a.

Jews. Armed and bearing a regal scepter, he represents the threatening paradox of a military Jewish kingdom. To medieval Christians, this was a role-reversal, a *Verkehrung* in the sense of 'the world turned upside-down', both unthinkable and absurd except in this apocalyptic context. Next, the 'pilgrimage' or ingathering (*czúzug*) to the Antichrist from all over the world and of all kings begins. "First of all, the Red Jews break out and cause the world great suffering. These same Jews are called Gog and Magog and their ten tribes" (14b).[40] There can be no doubt as to the apocalyptic credentials of the Red Jews when they are called Gog and Magog.

The Red Jews then march to Jerusalem to champion the Antichrist. The illustration to 14b[41] depicts a king, a queen, a lady of high fashion, and two Jews, all on horseback. One Jew appears to be carrying a small round shield, i.e., he too is armed -- a contravention of canon law. In the illustration to 15b, the Antichrist takes gold coins from a tray held by a demon and hands them to his followers, who are marked on the forehead with his sign. They are a woman, a turbaned figure (a Turk or a Jew) and two figures whose dress and headgear

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[40]. From servants of God sealed with a mark on the forehead (Rev. 7), the Ten Tribes have become servants of Antichrist: medieval tradition filters Scripture.

[41]. See Appendix D, no. 5b.

indicate that they are Jews.

Written in German without complex citations, the *Antichrist*-book was a work of popular exegesis. Not faithfulness to Scripture, but received wisdom, 'common knowledge', current beliefs concerning the Last Things[91] and attitudes to the Jews among the nobility, urban merchants and guildsmen -- in all likelihood, the early audience of this sort of limited and time-consuming printing[92] -- were the standard of interpretation and truth. Above all, what was 'current' turns out to be what was sanctioned by the rich medieval tradition examined in the preceding pages and chapters. The putative German-speaking audience seem to have had some demands as concerns authority: the author cites as a main source Hugo Ripelin's *Compendium*.

As we have seen, the author of the *Antichrist*-book was

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[91]. A contemporary (mid-fifteenth-century) Flemish block-book also depicts apocalyptic figures as Jews: the locusts from the bottomless pit (Rev. 9,3-11) appear much as they are described in Revelation, but instead of a crown of gold, their heads sport Jew's hats: Zafran, *Iconography of Antisemitism*, vol. I, 26, citing Heinrich Theodor Musper, *Die Urausgaben der holländischen Apokalypse und Biblia Pauperum*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1961); Zafran reproduces this illustration in vol. 2, plate 53.

[92]. The printing runs in the fifteenth century were still very modest, compared even to the edition sizes of the Reformation era. In the 1470s, 100-200 copies of a book were commonly printed, and in the 1480s, printings of 400-500 were average; some reached 1,000 or more: Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin. *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: NLB, 1976), 217-218.

not overly concerned to ensure that the interpretations he proposed conformed exactly to Scripture; 'close enough' seems to have been 'good enough'. Other authorities (e.g., Fathers and Doctors of the Church) were often held to be sufficient proof, but in this text, authorities are cited without regard for precise meaning. An incorrect reference to Jerome in a critical passage proves that medieval, not patristic tradition, and legendary, not theological authority were the central pillars of the mental edifice revealed here: the text of *Antichrist 1480*, 13°, reads "And another emissary [of the Antichrist] preaches to the Queen of the Amazons and to the Red Jews whom king Alexander enclosed in the Caspian Mountains. These Jews will break out at the time of the Antichrist as St. Jerome writes."[43] As noted above, Jerome's point in his commentary on Ezekiel is that Gog and Magog[44] are not particular peoples whose identity can be got at by means of clever etymologies, which he calls "vanity and a baseless science of names".[45] In the *Antichrist*-books as in their source, Hugo's *Compendium*, an appeal to authority (Jerome and

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43. For Jerome's actual words, see Appendix B, no. 6, lines 23ff.

44. Jerome wrote concerning Gog and Magog only, as the Ten Tribes would not be confused with them (as they are here under the name Red Jews) until the twelfth century.

45. Appendix B, no. 6, line 39: "superbia et falsi nominis scientia".

the Gloss, respectively) actually masks the opposite of the 'canonical' position: because that which everyone knows (i.e., the medieval tradition) must be the truth -- as witnessed to by the Fathers (Jerome) and the Church (the Ordinary Gloss)! The author selectively interprets Jerome's comments on the matter through the medium of standard medieval beliefs concerning the Last Things. He has no trouble perceiving in the mysterious nations that Jerome and the Bible called Gog and Magog the imaginary medieval reality which he and his contemporaries knew as the Red Jews.

This tells us a good deal about the unidentified author, and allows us to draw a parallel to Hugo Ripelin. In this kind of question, common knowledge was a better guide to the truth than dusty tomes. Authorities had to be cited, but citations were filtered through what was already known, so that they were understood to say what the *communis opinio* wanted to hear. And we know something more about the readers, whose demand resulted in at least eight manuscripts and three 'printings'. If they did have access to Jerome, they did not distinguish between the Biblical destroyers he mentions and the imaginary, constructed people they knew from the medieval tradition. In all likelihood, they could not read Jerome, who warned not to identify Gog and Magog with a particular nation. None of the surviving prints of the *Antichrist*-book has any marginalia that would suggest otherwise -- i.e., that they

could or did read Jerome and incorporate his reservations.

All the elements that had accumulated since the time of Hugo Ripelin are included in a text of which Christoph Peter Burger has said "it does not attempt to establish any sort of order" (in the many traditions it cites).[46] That is the whole point: Hugo, the tradition of the *Von Gottes Zukunft* or the Passau *Anonymous*, and anything else handy went into this fascinating congeries. The appended work called the 'Fifteen Signs preceding the Last Judgment' was generally attributed to Jerome; in this case, it was drawn largely from the version included in the *Legenda aurea* of Jacob a Voragine (1228/30-1298).[47] In medieval texts, the Fifteen Signs traditionally follow the death of the Antichrist.[48] Logic and system are foreign to the tradition, to the author(s) and redactors and

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[46]. Burger, "Endzeiterwartungen", 51.

[47]. Burger, "Endzeiterwartungen", 18.

[48]. This is the case in Hugo a Novo Castro's *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum* (2,10) and in most fifteenth-century illustrated lives of the Antichrist, including the Old French *De l'avenement Antechrist* and the Middle English *Cursor Mundi*: Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 83-84. Burger does not mention the revealing prehistory of association between the Fifteen Signs and the life of Antichrist. On the Fifteen Signs, see William Heist, *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State College Press, 1952). One of the earliest versions is the "De quindecim signis" of Pseudo-Bede, *PL* XCIV.555 (England, 8th century); see also Georg Nölle, "Die Legende von den Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gerichte", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 6 (1874), 413-476.

to the audience of the *Antichrist*-book. The German readership of this popular text would not have been interested in systematic, logical, orderly exposition.[99] What was supposed to be there, according to tradition, was there.

B. Antichrist or Messiah

Ulrich von Pottenstein (+1420), the court chaplain (*Hofkaplan*) at Vienna to Archduke Albrecht IV,[100] belonged to the vanguard of a clerical circle including Stephan von Landskron, Heinrich von Langenstein and Johannes Nider that valued vernacular preaching and exegetical writing highly enough to engage in both, composing some of the first serious

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[99]. Burger is consternated by what must appear to him as a logical contradiction: it is said that the Antichrist will be born in 'a city called the Great Babylon' of the tribe of Dan (an element from the Sibylline tradition). However, this must happen before the Red Jews break out of their mountain prison, Burger objects. The Red Jews are the Ten Tribes, of which Dan is one. This is an element of a separate but equally authoritative medieval tradition that also has roots in antiquity. Burger looks to the *Compendium* for help in explaining these contradictions ("diese Unstimmigkeiten ... aufklären"), but gets no help because Hugo on this point, at least, is tuned to another frequency -- that of Augustine and Jerome, who both refuse to see in Gog and Magog any specific peoples, much less the Ten Tribes ("Endzeiterwartungen", 47-48). These two parallel and related, but unharmonized medieval traditions receive equal weight as they are woven seamlessly into a narrative that might seem illogical or naive. We ought to be able to look beyond such terms to the structures underlying such compilation: not credulity, but deference to tradition and a pragmatic taste for concrete detail (cf. Leonardo Olschki, "Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes", 6) are behind these *Unstimmigkeiten*.

[100]. For information on Ulrich, see the *Verfasserlexikon*, III (old series: 1943), 918-923 (entry by F. Ranke).

and sophisticated theological treatises in the German language a century before Luther chose the language of the 'common man in the street' as a reference point for his famous Bible translation and his theological pamphlets in German. In the foreword to his 'Catechism', a volume intended for 'pious and intelligent layfolk' (*frummen und verstanden layen*), Ulrich distances himself from the clumsy word-for-word German translations (*aygen dewtsch*) from the Latin that had been usual, and describes and defends his use of the common language spoken around him as the appropriate means of communicating with the non-Latinate majority.[101] In his

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[101]. "And take note that I ought to have translated many Scriptural passages included in the book word-for-word, rather than in the German I have used. I have taken the common run of the German language as it is spoken here [in this country] as my reference-point, because this book and the teaching it contains are well-suited to the task of preaching to the common folk. 'Aigne dewtsch', which places the words in the same order as in Latin, is neither suitable nor useful for this purpose. For paraphrases are more useful for the common folk at many points in Scripture than the *aygnew dewtsch* which the learned understand, but in such a way that the true meaning is not changed by paraphrasing." "Auch ist czu merkchen, daz ich vil der schrifft, die ich in dem puch geseczet hab, vil paz hette mügen czu ainer aygen dewtsch bringen denn die dewtsch ist, die ich geseczt hab. Nu hab ich den gemainen lauf dewtscher sprach nach des lanndes gewonhait für mich genomen; wann daz puch und die lere, die darinnen begriffen sein, schikchen sich gemainchleich, wie man die lere predigen schülle vor dem volkche. Darczu mag sich an allen steten aine dewtsch nach der latein, als die lawtet und nach dem text liget, weder geschikchen noch gefügen. Wann umbred bringen an maniger stat in der schrifft mer nüczes vor dem gemainen volkch denn aygnew dewtsch als daz die gelerten wissen, yedoch also, das die warhait des sinnes mit umbred icht verrucket werde."; Vienna, Österreichische National-

commentary on the Ten Commandments,[102] written around 1406, Ulrich devotes some pages to the theme of the 'Christ' (Messiah) whom some Jews claim was born when Vespasian destroyed the Temple,[103] and who is biding his time until the appointed hour arrives, when God will send him forth to liberate the Jews. In a section that is essentially a translation from Nicholas of Lyra's Bible postilla, Ulrich discusses the supposed whereabouts of this false Messiah, the Jewish 'Christ', and says we ought to put the question to the Jews:

> "So they should be asked where Christ is, and where he has been for so long a time. Many of them [the Jews] will respond that he is with the angels living as Moses did, who lived forty days on Mount Sinai, and is waiting until the Lord orders him to reveal himself. Others say that he is the other side of the mountains that are called the Caspian Mountains, waiting there in the same way for the

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bibliothek, Cod. 3050, I[va]; cited from Thomas Hohmann, *Heinrichs von Langenstein 'Unterscheidung der Geister' Lateinisch und Deutsch*. Texte und Untersuchungen zu Übersetzungsliteratur aus der Wiener Schule (Munich, 1977), 261.

[102]. The work in which this commentary is found treats the *Magnificat* and the Ten Commandments. The manuscript is at the Széchényi National Library, Budapest, FM1 2495. Mr. Robert Bast drew my attention to this important representative of early vernacular catechesis and kindly loaned me his microfilm copy of the manuscript.

[103]. Christians charged that since the scepter shall not pass from Judah until the Messiah comes (Gen. 49,10) and the Jews lost their kingdom under Vespasian, the Messiah must have come before that time -- namely Jesus. The explanation presented here is that the true Messiah was born at the time of the destruction of the Temple (i.e., before the scepter passed from Judah), and is waiting 'in reserve'.

> Lord's orders to come at the time when this people [the Jews] is to be redeemed."[104]

The false Christ awaited by the Jews is rumored -- according to 'some Jews' -- to be on the other side of the Caspian Mountains: where the Red Jews/Ten Tribes are. It is not surprising that the false Messiah should be located among the Jews who will help him when the Lord orders him to come forth and deliver the Jews of the Diaspora. Ulrich charges the Jews with making up stories; that the Jews cannot agree as to their Messiah's whereabouts proves that the story is entirely

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[104]. "Darumb sind sy ze fragen Wa Christus sey, und wa er so lange zeyt gewesen sey. Da sprechen ir ettleich er sey mit den engeln und lebe in der masse als moyses die virczig tag gelebet hab auf dem perge Synay, und warte wenn im von dem herren gepoten werde sich zu offenbaren. Die anderen sprechen er sey enhalb des gepirgs die perg man nennet Caspios und wart da in gela[i]her weyse des gepotes des herren wann das volkch schullen erloset werden." *Magnificat und zehn Gebote*, book IV, chapter lxvii, G, col. 2, lines 7-16. The passage from Nicholas of Lyra, *Biblia Latina cum postillis N. de Lyra*, 3 vols. (Venice 1481); Hain 3164; cited here from Wolfenbüttel Biblia-S 4° 127: "ergo ante obsidionem illam et miseriam illam [sc. templi] venit christus. Hoc concedunt multi apud eos [sc. Judeos]: dicunt quod ipse christus natus sit in die destructionis templi. Sed cum ab illo tempore fluxerunt 1235 [sic: 1335?] anni: queritur ab ipsis ubi sit ipse christus: et ubi per tantum tempus fuerit: Et dicunt aliqui quod ipse cum angelis vivens in eo modo quo moyses vixit xl diebus in monte synai et expectat preceptum domini ad se ostendendum. Alii dicunt quod est ultra montes Caspios expectans preceptum domini de liberatione populi...": In: *ibid.*, vol. III, under the title "Libellus editus per magistrum Nicolaum de Lyra ordinis monorum theologie professorem: in quo sunt pulcherrime questiones iudaicam perfidiam in catholica fide improbantes".

fictitious.[105] Already we sense some of the sceptical flavor of anti-Judaic apology that becomes the main theme of treatments of the Red Jews in the Reformation. The evidence provided by Ulrich is negative, not positive: he imputes to the Jews the erroneous belief that their Messiah is waiting somewhere beyond the fabled Caspian Mountains, a belief that corresponds closely to ideas common among the German-speaking population of the Empire concerning the Red Jews. Ulrich concurs with Lyra and pillories this notion as absurd.

The *Fortalicium fidei* ('Fortress of Faith') of Alphonsus a Spina (Alfonso de Espina, bishop of Orense +1469), which appeared in at least seven editions in Germany between 1471 and 1525, is praised by Burger for offering an example of 'a considerably more logical [better-harmonized] version [of this story] than the captions [of the *Antichrist*-book]'.[106] Espina has the Queen of the Amazons, in the Alexander novel merely a neighbor of the 'enclosed peoples', guard (in conjunction with

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[105]. "Soleiche wandelbertichait peweiset das ir rede ain getichtes ding ist." *Ibid.*, G, col. 2, lines 23-24.

[106]. "Eine wesentlich harmonisiertere Version als der Bildertext bietet Alphonsus a Spina in seinem Fortalicium fidei, der 'Festung des Glaubens'...": "Endzeiterwartungen", 50. The *Fortalicium fidei contra fidei christianae hostes* was first printed at Strasbourg by Johann Mentelin in 1471 (Hain 372). At least six further editions appeared over the next fifty years: Basel (1475), Nuremberg (1485), Lyon (1487), Nuremberg (1494), Lyon (1511 and 1525). For the relevant passage, see Appendix C, no. 7.

the Great Khan of Cathay) the 'sons of Israel'[107] who were enclosed by Alexander between two camps or fortresses (*castra*) called 'guth' and 'maguth'[108].

These enclosed Jews[109] are endowed with the horrible characteristics of the 'unclean peoples': "like wild beasts, they live on raw meat, biting into living people, and on the fruits of trees".[110] When the Antichrist appears, they will join him and accompany him to Jerusalem, where he will reign as a mighty king "by virtue of their support".[111] Then all the other Jews dispersed throughout the world (i.e., the descendants of Benjamin and Judah) will gather at Jerusalem. The Antichrist will be circumcised and claim to be the Christ promised the Jews in their Law. He will say that 'our Lord

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[107]. The "filii israel" are the Ten Tribes; Appendix C, no. 7, fol. 145^{v}, col. 2, line 17.

[108]. These are historical distortions of Gog and Magog, Gog having been interpreted as 'Goths' -- for which Augustine was indirectly responsible -- and which were common in the Romance versions of the Alexander story. Again, the reference to Comestor ("magister hystoriarum") is not accurate. Espina is conjuring with a respectable locus, but Comestor says nothing of the sort.

[109]. They are not called the Ten Tribes, but simply *filii israel*.

[110]. This is what I make of the phrase "nudi incedentes carnibus crudis et arborum fructibus vivunt" (Appendix C, no. 7, fol. 145^{v}, col. 2, lines 26-27).

[111]. That is, "virtute quorum regnabit et erit monarcha potentissimus" (Appendix C, no. 7, fol. 145^{v}, col. 2, lines 37-38).

Jesus' was a great deceiver and a magus.[112] For our present purpose, the heart of this portion is as follows:

> "And all the Jews, deceived by wondrous signs and drawn by promises, will come pouring in to Jerusalem and cleave to him, for they burn with an excessive desire for the Coming of their Messiah, by whom they hope to be delivered from their captivity. And since they will see him in the flush of prosperity, radiant with glory, subjugating other kings, they -- who have long been blinded by their false beliefs -- will accept him as the true Messiah, and will worship him as a god, and they will fear and respect him as their lord and king."[113]

The Jews are the first and foremost servants and supporters of the Antichrist.[114] The 'enclosed Jews' are his power base, and 'all the Jews' of the Diaspora become his subjects as well.[115] His reign is based on their support; they in turn see in him the Messiah promised them in their Law.

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[112]. Cf. the 14th-century *sielen trost*, Appendix A, no. 7.

[113]. For the Latin text, see Appendix C, no. 7, fol. 145^{v}, col. 2, line 38 - fol. 146^{r} col. 1, line 2).

[114]. The *Compendium de vita antichristi*, published anonymously in 1475, contains the same detail: "Concerning the cult of the Antichrist there are four points. The first is that in order to attract the Jews to himself, he calls himself the Messiah promised to them in the Law, true God and true man, and he will rebuild the temple of Solomon. ..." (See Appendix C, no. 8, lines 5-9 for the Latin text).

[115]. Espina here launches into a discussion of whether the Antichrist will reign in the Temple (*in templo*) at Jerusalem, as some -- or rather, 'some others' -- say, or whether he will reign <u>as</u> the Temple (*in templum*), i.e. the Church: such that the Antichrist will be a *falsus christianus* and claim to be a man of the Church. This is the beginning of the thread that can be spun into a yarn like the 'Papal Antichrist' so favored by Luther in later years.

Espina expressly cites the blind error of the Jews as a justification for their apocalyptic destiny. Anti-Judaic religious positions, antisemitic literary traditions and apocalyptic expectation coalesce here to form a particularly lucid vision of Jewish participation in the destructive reign of the Antichrist. Between the moralizing, allegorizing position of 'high theology' (which in this case always means Jerome and Augustine, cited in some variation) and the solidly traditional, unsophisticated encyclopedism of our vernacular texts, Espina occupies a middle ground, providing contemporary and subsequent Latinate readers of 'applied theology' with what would become -- during the decades of especially vigorous antisemitic agitation that followed -- a popular and well-harmonized guidebook to the 'Jewish peril' in the Last Days.

The Künzelsau Corpus Christi cycle (c. 1479) displays prominently the demonic associations of the Antichrist (when he is born, a devil informs Lucifer that "our comrade" is born), and emphasizes Antichrist's Jewish support. The Jews become his most faithful adherents after *Archsinagoga* identifies him as the Messiah and asks that he take revenge against the Christians on behalf of the Jews.[15] This last

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[16]. This work "particularly plays up Antichrist's devilish connections and his close association with the Jews": Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, 165. See Peter Liebenow, ed., *Das Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel* (Berlin, 1969), lines 5075-5304.

detail corresponds to the terrifying apocalyptic function of the Red Jews.

In Hans Folz' late fifteenth-century *Ein Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund*[117] and Pamphilius Gengenbach's *Der Nollhart* (1517),[118] two vernacular plays not associated with particular religious holidays, the Antichrist is depicted as the Jewish Messiah -- or at least the Jews believe that the Antichrist, when he appears, is the Messiah they have been waiting for. Of this venomous and highly revealing pair of plays, the former is by far the more savage in construction and tone.[119] Not the real Antichrist, but an impostor put up

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[117]. A. von Keller, ed. *Fastnachtsspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1853; =BLVS, 28; reprint 1965), 169-190. See Appendix C, no. 9, for the relevant passages and an English translation. Folz (1450-1515), a barber, *Meistersinger*, writer of carnival plays and a thorough-going Jew-hater, dedicated this coarse work to the 'Duke of Burgundy' -- since 1482, Philip the Fair (1478-1506), son of Maximilian I (1459-1519) of the house of Habsburg. According to one Folz specialist, the present work was composed between 1486 and 1494: see Hanns Fischer, "Hans Folz. Altes und Neues zur Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften", in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 95 (1966), 212-236; 225. Concerning Folz and his other works, see the *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1980), cols. 769-793, Edith Wenzel, "Zur Judenproblematik bei Hans Folz", in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 101 (1982), 79-104.

[118]. An extract from this play and an English translation are in Appendix C, no. 10.

[119]. Trachtenberg discusses this play briefly, then generalizes concerning the Antichrist plays: "the effect of these plays upon the passions of the mob may be gauged from the action of the Frankfort City Council, in 1469, establishing special regulations for the protection of the Jewish quarter during the period when the play was being

to the job by some rabbis appears at the court of the Duke of Burgundy, demanding that all Christians pay homage to him and hand over worldly power (authority, lordship and government[120]) to the Jews. This pitiful ruse is discovered and mocked by the Christian characters, especially the violent Fool. After the 'false Messiah' or *Endcrist* is revealed as an impostor, he explains that the reason for this desperate deceit was that the Jews had been expecting the Messiah to come and save them for fourteen hundred years; since he still had not arrived, they decided to hurry things along. The Jews are then tortured in an unspeakably savage and degrading fashion. The play ends with the men of the Duke dancing with glee around the mutilated corpses of the Jews.

The *Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund* was written at the time of the strongest efforts by the Nuremberg city council to persuade Emperor Maximilian I to allow the city to expel the Jews. The Jews were expelled from Nuremberg in 1499. The city council had been bickering with the Emperor since their decision in 1473 to eject one of the largest and most prosperous Jewish communities in Europe. The Nuremberg citizen Hans Folz depicted the Messiah awaited by the Jews as the

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presented." *The Devil and the Jews*, 37. That the *Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund* was written after 1469 does not detract from his point.

120. "Gewalt, herschaft und regiment": Appendix C, no. 9, p. 171, line 30.

Antichrist in other works as well: between 1483 and 1488, Folz published a poem in rhyming couplets (*Reimpaardichtung*) called *Der falsche Messias*. Here, a young student seduces a Jewish maiden and makes her pregnant. To save his skin, he tricks the girl's parents into believing the awaited child is their Messiah. However, the baby turns out to be female. The student is exposed as a seducer, but the Jews are held up to ridicule as fools. This theme had been used by Caesarius of Heisterbach (c.1180-c.1240) in his *Dialogus miraculorum*.[21] Folz' work was supported by members of the Nuremberg patriciate, among whom he found an audience appreciative of his antisemitic tirades.[22] The humiliation and torments suggested in this popular carnival farce on the theme of the world turned upside-down (unsuccessfully, of course) mirror contemporary expulsions from the German towns, Spain and Portugal. In the case of Nuremberg, the *Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund* was part of a concerted, long-term campaign on the part of the city council and ruling élite, supported by such middling citizens as Hans Folz, to rid the city of Jews. No Jew held

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21. Ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne/ Bonn/Brussels 1851), vol. I, 94-95. See Edith Wenzel, "Zur Judenproblematik bei Hans Folz", 79-82.

22. Edith Wenzel, "Zur Judenproblematik bei Hans Folz", 102 and 104.

citizenship at Nuremberg from 1499 to 1850.[123]

In *Der Nollhart*, a friar and a Jew dispute the issue of the Messiah. The friar insists that Jesus was the Messiah, citing the usual Biblical loci, then at the request of the Jew, describes the Antichrist. The device used is a version of the comedic confusion of persons: the Jew thinks that the Christian means by 'Antichrist' the Jewish Messiah; the Christian thinks the Jew means by 'Messiah' the Antichrist of Christian lore. In fact, the Christian author imputes to the Jews the absurd (but among Christians, long-standing) belief that the Jewish Messiah will be the Antichrist. The Jew asks the friar to describe Antichrist (i.e., in Jewish terms, the Messiah), as the Jews have been waiting for him for fifteen hundred years, and are anxious that he arrive soon. The friar says the Antichrist will be born of the tribe of Dan, 'as was Judas, who is eternally damned', then recites the by-now familiar details of his birth and early career. After the Antichrist arises, the friar explains that

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[23]. Edith Wenzel, "Zur Judenproblematik bei Hans Folz", 103. See also Phillip N. Bebb, "Jewish Policy in Sixteenth Century Nürnberg", In: *Occasional Papers of the American Society for Reformation Research* (1977), ed. R.C. Walton, 125-136. Bebb ascribes the push to rid the city of its Jews to the rapid growth of both population and the money supply, which caused a "widening bifurcation between prices and wages. The consequent inflation produced severe economic problems for Nürnberg's council and its subjects. Thus it is likely that the city regarded the Jews as the cause of these problems and sought a remedy in expulsion." (126-127) The wave of similar expulsions at this time is not mentioned.

Gog and Magog, whom Alexander enclosed,
Will be let loose:
They will cause great misery in Christendom
And create much pain and suffering.
And the Queen of the Amazons will also
Come to him with many Jews[124]
Who think their Messiah is on earth:
They will be delighted indeed.
At this time he will work many signs [wonders]
With which he will deceive people.
The Jew:
O friar, say no more;
I wish he would come tomorrow
Because we have been waiting for him for so long.[125]

Although this version of the Antichrist story is less clear than, say, Alfonso de Espina, or even than the *Antichrist*-books, as to which Jews will support the Antichrist and in what order, the Antichrist is to be attended by the Queen of the Amazons and by "many Jews who think their Messiah is on earth". The Jew's response to the friar's description of the coming disaster is meant to evoke scorn as well as fear: "I wish he would come tomorrow." This text confuses the Jewish Messiah with the Antichrist as thoroughly as the *Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund* had done in the previous generation.

Another genre confirms that the identification of the Jewish Messiah with the Antichrist was well known in the later Middle Ages. The painter Hieronymus Bosch, or van Aken, (c. 1460-1516) depicted the Jewish Messiah as the Antichrist in

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[124]. Cf. the Red Jews in the *Antichrist* books.

[125]. See Appendix C, no. 10, fol. giii^{v}, lines 21-34 for the German text.

many of his works, including the Prado Epiphany.[126]

Messianic hopes were nothing new to European Jewry, nor were they confined to this period, as I have demonstrated in chapter II. Intense Jewish and Christian speculation concerning the final things coincided in this decisive period for Christian-Jewish relations. Each side would seem to have fed off and confirmed each other. From the early Middle Ages to the early sixteenth century, there was a fascinating coincidence of expectations concerning the Antichrist-Red Jews-Enclosed Jews (on the Christian side) and the Messiah-Ten Tribes (on the Jewish side). Christian apocalypticism -- and especially the Antichrist legend -- must be seen both in the context of received antisemitic belief and in the context of Jewish messianic expectations.

7. Conclusion

Jewish Messianism fulfilled an apologetic and a polemical function vis-à-vis Christian doctrine, for expecting a Messiah implied that none had yet arrived. What better way, then, for Christians to attack the Jewish denial of Jesus' messianic credentials than to depict the Messiah awaited by the Jews as the personification of final evil? The argument then runs as follows: not only did the Jews in their 'blindness' deny and

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[126]. See Lotte Brand Philip, "The Prado Epiphany by Jerome Bosch", in: *The Art Bulletin* 35 (1953), 267-293.

kill Christ the Messiah, but, far worse, they see in the evil figure known to centuries of Christian apocalyptic as the Antichrist none other than their Redeemer! Therefore, they must be in league with him and the forces of evil -- not a surprising conclusion if one assumes the Jews are evil in the first place. The demonization of the Jews in other spheres (e.g., concerning their appearance, rituals or supposed odor[27]) cannot be separated from the demonic role ascribed to the savage, 'unclean' (*unrein*) Jews in the End Time ever since Comestor's conflation. Christian apocalypticism, especially in the popular, vernacular realm (mirrored in the *Antichrist* books, the *Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund* and the *Nollhart*) cannot be separated from an antisemitism rooted just as firmly in 'demonizing' ethnic hatred and suspicion as in antagonism to Jewish messianic beliefs.[28]

In the 15th century, not only vernacular drama, but vernacular and Latin popular exegesis associated the Jews very closely with the Antichrist as his first and foremost servants. This popular association was not new; it appeared in the work of Hugo Ripelin -- "plebs iudaica specialiter adherebit illi" -- around a century after the appearance of

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27. Cf. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*; see pages 47-50 on the alleged 'Jewish stench', the *foetor judaicus*.

28. Cf. Peter Schwartz, OP, *Der Stern Meschiach* (Esslingen: Conrad Fyner [Feyner], 1477).

the Tegernsee *Antichrist*-play, which was 'still' innocent of this defamatory belief, came into being. Indeed, most Latin and vernacular authors held at least from the time of Peter Comestor that Jews of some description[129] would play a prominent role in the onslaught of the Antichrist during the last days. At the same time, Jewish messianic hopes created an atmosphere of alert expectation among the Jewish communities of Europe. Rumors circulated constantly that the Ten Tribes, imagined by Jews as their liberators from Christian bondage, had crossed the Sambation and were on the march. These rumors delighted Jews -- but alarmed Christians.

The antisemitic depiction of the Jews as minions of Antichrist was in Langmuir's sense 'irrational', based on no observed or observable phenomena, and was to that extent 'chimeric' -- yet it was tradition, the tales of centuries, including the immensely popular Pseudo-Methodius and Alexander materials, that made it possible for vernacular exegesis (*Von Gottes Zukunft*) and a churchman like Hugo Ripelin to share similar ideas concerning Antichrist and the Jews. Tradition, indeed, is the factor that makes it impossible to apply Langmuir's concept 'chimeria' -- fantasies with no possible basis in anything real -- to the role of the Jews at the end of time. This role did not spring into being all at once, as

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[29]. To Comestor and his imitators, the Ten Tribes.

the result of a psychological aberration. It developed over centuries as stories, speculation and conflation took on the appearance of solid fact by virtue of repetition and confirmation through the generations, each forming a basis of authority for its descendents.

In German-language texts of the 14th and 15th centuries, the especially threatening Red Jews were among the first to be assigned to the ranks of the Antichrist. First the Jews, then the Red Jews were servants of Antichrist. The part assigned to the Red Jews in the final drama was a 'step up' in the 'escalation of antisemistism' that included canon law restrictions, accusations of sacrilege and ritual murder, suspicions of a diabolical role in the entourage of Antichrist, expulsion and forced conversion. The re-assignment of the Jews from 'conversion duty' to active service in the army of the Antichrist had occurred by the time Hugo Ripelin wrote his theological encyclopedia; it took fifty years more for the idea to start showing up in other genres, after which time it became a commonplace of antisemitic Christian apocalyptic.

VI: A MEDIEVAL LEGEND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: PIOUS AND POLITICAL PERMUTATIONS

There are two reasons to pay particular attention to the legend of the Red Jews in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German sources. The first is that over this span, the legend continues to change in important ways that reflect broader developments. In 1523, 1562 and 1596, the Red Jews appear in popular pamphlets in new and surprising roles. The second is that after the sixteenth century, the phrase disappears from Germany and is confined to eastern European Jewish folklore, after which time it haunts Christian Europe from the outside. This antisemitic term, and the savage people it originally depicted, have disappeared from scholarly vocabularies and textbooks precisely because they belong to the Middle Ages, and generations of scholars (at least since Burckhardt) have been reluctant to allow much to spill over from what until recently were called nonchalantly the 'Dark Ages' into the 'modern' era. The Red Jews haunted the sixteenth century from the inside, from within the medieval convolute of myths, legends, tales and popular beliefs that by no means disappeared at the first signs of the Renaissance and Reformation.

This chapter offers both positive proof (the witness of pamphlet and other vernacular sources) and negative evidence (the condemnation and dismissal of the Red Jews as a 'foolish

fable' by influential and learned churchmen) of the wide diffusion and popular nature of the legend of the Red Jews in 'early-modern' Germany.

1. Apocalyptic Anxiety

Since at least the middle of the fifteenth century, a groundswell of interest in the approaching End had produced a large number of apocalyptic works and prophecies in both Latin and the European vernaculars.[1] In the German-speaking lands, the tradition of the Red Jews occupied a prominent place in late-medieval speculation and learning about the End Time. The Antichrist was featured in a series of block-books and early typographical printings that document the widespread and lasting appeal of this story among German-speaking audiences. Interest in the last things was not exhausted by this vernacular rendition of the Antichrist legend; authoritative apocalyptic sources in Latin were in demand among those who could read them. Among the most important of these were the ancient *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius, an edition of which was printed at Cologne as early as 1475. Wolfgang Aytinger (c.1460-after 1508) had Johannes Froschauer publish his *Commentary on Methodius* in 1496, and in 1498, Sebastian Brant produced an illustrated version that was to be very popular in

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1. See especially the *Antichrist* books, treated in chapter V.

the following century, running to seven more printings by 1576 (the illustrations included Gog and Magog being enclosed by Alexander, and breaking out of their mountain fastness at the end of time[2]). According to Aytinger, the beginning of the End was the fall of Constantinople (1453); the conclusion would come in 1509, when he predicted the Last Emperor would triumph over the Turks.[3] The continuing editions attest to the enormous popularity of this Latin work in the early sixteenth century.

2. A new Christian twist on an old Jewish legend

In 1508, the Jewish convert to Christianity Victor von Carben (1422-1515) published his *Judenbüchlein*[4] at Cologne, a

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[2]. The illustrations are reproduced in Appendix D, nos. 4 a and b. They are from Michael Furter's 1498 Basel edition. For a reproduction of the plate showing Gog and Magog breaking out of the Caspian Mountains, see also Cary, *The Medieval Alexander, 131*.

[3]. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 271.

[4]. *Juden Büchlein. Hyerinne würt gelesen, wie Herr Victor von Carben, welcher eyn Rabi der Juden gewesst ist, zu Christlichem glauben kommen*. Printed in 1550 (no place of publishing noted) as a reprint of the 1508 Cologne edition. See Panzer, *Annalen der älteren deutschen Litteratur*, I (Nuremberg 1788/reprint Hildesheim 1961), 291. There is an almost word-for-word Latin edition prepared by Ortwin Gratius, the *Opus aureum ac novum et a doctibus viris diu expectatum*. This edition was printed at Cologne by Heinrich of Neuß (Henricus de Nuscia), February 1509. Book I of the *Opus aureum* was also appended, under the title *De vita et moribus Iudeorum Victoris de Carben olim iudei nunc Christi miseratione Christiani Libellus*, to an edition of Ricoldus a Montecrucis (Ricold de Montecroix), *Contra sectam Mahumeticam non indignus*

work that described the conditions and customs of the Jews with a view to aiding in their conversion.[5] It was reprinted at Cologne in 1550. Victor was no mere puppet or mouthpiece for the Dominicans of Cologne, an accusation often levelled at his contemporary and fellow proselyte Johannes Pfefferkorn.[6]

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scitu libellus, printed at Paris by H. Stephanus in 1511. I have consulted this latter edition, in which Victor's work is on pages 63r-86v; Wolfenbüttel 151.51 Th.(3). The 1550 edition was edited, according to Panzer, by Michael Kromer, pastor of Kunitz, and contains his 1523 pamphlet popularization of Luther's *Daß unser Herr Jhesus Christus...*, called *Eyn Underredung vom Glauben, durch Herr Micheln Kromer ... und einem Judischen Rabien, mit namen Jacob von Brucks*, discussed in chapter 6. The original printing of 1508 is very rare. There is a copy at NIC (Rare BT 1120.K18), probably printed at Cologne by Heinrich Quentel Erben in 1508. This version differs slightly in orthography from that owned by Panzer, who also possessed other printings. The British Library possesses an undated copy of the same work Panzer consulted, which is dated "1510?" in its catalogue (1412. e. 19.), but 1508 by Panzer. There are numerous printings of the 1550 edition: BSB Astr.p.84p, Beibd.1. (also at British Library 1351. a. 13. (2.)); BSB Polem. 1425; and that mentioned by Panzer (not an exhaustive listing). Panzer notes that although the 1511 Latin version is not a word-for-word translation of the 1508 German edition, it treats the same material. The 1550 edition is the same, except for the division of chapters, as the 1508 version. For the relevant passages from these works and my translations, see Appendix A, nos. 12 and 13.

5. On Victor, see Willehad-Paul Eckert, "Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Katholischer Humanismus", in: *Kirche und Synagoge. Handbuch zur Geschichte von Christen und Juden*, vol. I, ed. Karl Heinrich Rengstorf and Siegfried von Kortzfleisch (Stuttgart 1968), 210-306; 252, subheading 8: "Ein spätmittelalterlicher Apologet -- Victor von Karben (1422-1515)".

6. See Hans-Martin Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden im Deutschland des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an den Schriften Johannes Pfefferkorns* (Tübingen, 1989; =Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, 3), esp. insofar as the Latin versions of Pfefferkorn's works are concerned: 186-188. Heinrich Graetz goes so far as to state that Gratius

Both Victor and Pfefferkorn belonged to the Dominican circle that included humanists such as Ortwin Gratius, Arnold van Tongeren and Jacob von Hoogstraten, with whom these converts plotted to suppress or eliminate Hebrew books.[7] Gratius wrote section headings for and may have translated into Latin some

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was the author of Pfefferkorn's *Der Joeden spiegel* (Cologne 1507; in Latin, the *Speculum adhortationis iudaice ad Christum*, Speyer: Conrad Hist, 1507; see Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden*, 201 ff. for further details concerning Pfefferkorn's works and their translations) in his *History of the Jews*, IV (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1894/1949), 425. James V. Mehl notes in his dissertation "Ortwin Gratius: Cologne Humanist" (University of Missouri-Columbia, 1975), which he kindly made available to me, that there is no evidence to substantiate such claims (95, note 61). There is solid proof that Johannes Pfefferkorn died before 1531: in entry 123, dated Friday, 17 February 1531, in the minutes of the Cologne City Council, it is noted that the son of the late Johannes Pfefferkorn was to be imprisoned: "Der Sohn des verstorbenen Johannes Pfefferkorn soll zu Turm gebracht werden." *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550*, vol. 4 (1531-1540), ed. Manfred Groten (Düsseldorf, 1988; =Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde LXV), 15 (fol. 93,F).

[7]. Gratius praised both Pfefferkorn and Victor as learned men. In a letter to Arnold Tongern, he called Pfefferkorn one of the learned Jews who "have risen up against their own race in an amazing conflict" and converted to the Christian faith: in Pfefferkorn's *Quomodo Judei suum pascha servent*, fol. A1^{r}: "...contra suum genus mira quadam contentione insurgant." In a dedication to Bishop Theoderic of Cyrene, Gratius described Victor as having "courageous temperament, painstaking diligence, and cultivated as well as diverse learning"; in Victor's *Opus aureum* (Cologne 1509), fol A2^{r}: "...erectum ingenium, operosam diligentiam, politam atque multiplicem doctrinam...". Gratius was at pains to persuade Christian readers of the orthodoxy and qualifications of these converts to write on the Christian faith. These passages and translations are cited from James Mehl, "Ortwin Gratius: Cologne Humanist", 97 and notes 69 and 70.

of the polemical and missionary German pamphlets by Pfefferkorn and Victor.[1] Victor disputed with learned Jews before the Archbishop of Cologne at Bonn, and secured the expulsion of the Jews from Brühl, Deutz and other towns in the area: the protocol is to be found in Victor's *Opus aureum ac novum* (1509).[2] Victor also was named as a member of a commission of inquiry into supposed blasphemies against the Christian religion. These insults were said to be contained in the Jewish books Pfefferkorn had confiscated at Frankfurt on Friday, September 28th, 1509. Further confiscations were carried out at Mainz, Bingen, Lorch, Lahnstein and Deutz. This commission was to be established by Johannes Pfefferkorn on the strength of the second mandate he obtained from the

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[1]. The texts in question are Pfefferkorn's *Quomodo Judei suum pascha servent* (In disem buchlein vindet yr ein entlichen furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten, published at Cologne by Johannes Landen in 1509). The Latin version was published at Cologne by Heinrich of Neuß (Henricus de Nuscia) in February of 1509 and the Hostis Iudeorum (*Ich bin ein buchlein Der Juden veindt ist mein namen...; Cologne*: Johannes Landen, 1509), published by Heinrich of Neuß in March of 1509. Gratius's translation of Victor's *Judenbüchlein*, the *Opus aureum*, was also published by Heinrich of Neuß, in February of 1509. James Mehl claims Gratius did the translating, although there is no scholarly consensus on this question: "Ortwin Gratius: Cologne Humanist", 94 and 95, esp. note 62. Kirn points out that many of the Latin translations of Pfefferkorn's and Victor's work expanded and commented on the original text. Kirn also notes that there is no certain evidence that Gratius translated any of the early writings of these two proselytes. Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden*, 186.

[2]. Eckert, "Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Katholischer Humanismus", 253.

Emperor, dated Roverdo, 10 November, 1509. Doctors from the universities of Cologne, Mainz, Heidelberg and Erfurt were to examine these books in the presence of Jewish scholars. The commission was also to include "Jacob von Hochstraten of the Dominicans, doctor-of-law and grand inquisitor; the most learned Johannes Reuchlin, doctor-of-law, well grounded and versed in Hebrew writings, and Victor von Carben, formerly a Rabbi and now a priest", under the charge and supervision of Pfefferkorn.[10]

Victor was a late and to all appearances a sincere convert.[11] As Pfefferkorn did, he tried to persuade Christians that mistreating Jews would not encourage their conversion to Christianity. He was certain, however, that the Jews are blind to the 'true faith' and in frightful error; his tone is often acerbic. He hacks away at Jewish messianic hopes with a well-

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[10]. S.A. Hirsch, "John Pfefferkorn and the Battle of the Books", in: *The Jewish Quarterly Review* IV (1892; original series published in London), 256-288; 269. The meeting was not convened, and a third imperial mandate restored the books to their Jewish owners after a bitter public feud in which the city council of Frankfurt ultimately sided with the Jews, citing their ancient and customary privileges and Pfefferkorn's interference in areas of council jurisdiction (270).

[11]. Salo W. Baron attempts to explain the conversion of Pfefferkorn and Victor as follows: "In that stormy period of growing internal unrest in the Empire, the successive regional expulsion of the Jews, and Jewish disillusionment over the pseudo-messiah Asher Lämmlein, a few Jewish intellectuals threw up their hands in despair and joined the dominant faith.": *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* XIII, 185.

known, but also well-worn saw of Christian missionary argument when he reminds the Jews that they have no royal power left on earth -- which must mean that the Messiah has come, according to Jacob's promise that God will not allow the 'scepter' to fall away from Judah until the Messiah appears.[12] Victor reports that when Jews are told this, they reply that there are Jewish kingdoms left on earth, therefore the 'scepter' has not yet fallen from 'Judah'. They have a king

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[12]. "If you ask a Jew, young or old, 'In whom do you place your trust, you Jews, that you are so stubborn and arrogant, even though you see very well that your kingship and temple are long past, given that there is no poorer and more God-forsaken people in the whole world than you?' They answer and say: 'We still have a king and leaders in another country. 'So you ask: 'Where and in which country are they? I have visited many lands and have never heard of any kingdom or jurisdiction that you can or might still claim." *Judenbüchlein* (1550), Book I, ch. xviiii (19), fol. Diiij^{v}; see Appendix A, no. 12 for the German text with my translation. The promise is made by Jacob in his blessing: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,/Nor a lawgiver from between his feet,/Until Shiloh come;/And unto him shall the gathering of the people be." (Gen. 49,10). Cf. Peter Schwartz (Petrus Niger), *Der Stern Meschiach* (Eßlingen: Conradus Feyner 1477), Staats-bibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz 8° Inc.1138, tr.3, fol. 48b ff: Schwartz reports that the Jews claim still to have *mischpat*, i.e. jurisdiction over life and death ("das gericht des pluotes") somewhere in the east, across the Red Sea. This is similar to the tales reported by Victor von Carben and Antonius Margaritha, but lacks the term Red Jews, which they took from the German legend. It is possible that 'blood justice' has something to do with Red Jews, but the term appears nowhere else in the literature. The Red Sea is a more common motif in connection with the Ten Tribes, yet entirely absent from any text that actually mentions Red Jews. Shiloh washes his clothes in wine, and his eyes are redder than wine (Gen. 49,11-12), but this motif is never mentioned in connection with the Red Jews.

> "the other side of Babylon in the Caspian Mountains, who is from the tribe of Judah. These same Jews are the Red Jews and mighty powerful they are too. There are more of them than there are Christians in all of Christendom, as many more as you are now more than us."[13]

The Red Jews are the ten lost tribes, who will come to the aid of the Jews in the Diaspora, and free them from their servitude under the Christians. We encounter here a further 'conflation' or confusion, which fuses the ancient and independent Jewish tradition of the Ten Tribes beyond the Sambation (or Sabbation) with the German Christian story of the Red Jews. Victor avows that he had travelled far and wide and read much, yet never heard either of such a kingdom or of such a people. Although he is a hostile witness, his report reveals another version in which Christians received the story of the Red Jews in the sixteenth century. Victor's Jewish interlocutor claims that even as they speak, 600,000 Red Jews are on their way to liberate Jerusalem by the sword.[14] The justification given by 'the Jews' for so high an estimate is that ten tribes were exiled to the east, whereas all the Jews in the west were descended from the remaining two tribes (Benjamin and Judah): therefore, the Red Jews (Ten Tribes)

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[13]. See Appendix A, no. 12, fol. D iiii^{v}, lines 17-23.

[14]. *Ibid.*, fol. Tvii^{v}, lines 6-10. This number was not chosen at random. It is the number of the men of Israel who left Egypt (Exodus 12,38). It crops up again in the 1523 pamphlets, and is echoed in the 900,000 men of the 1596 pamphlets.

must be many hundreds of thousands strong. Among other details in Victor's report, this biblical number appears again in the 1523 pamphlets -- but as a shocking reality, not an absurd exaggeration.

In the Latin translation of Victor's *Judenbüchlein*,[15] the section dealing with the Red Jews follows the German original almost word-for-word:

> "Then, if you ask him [a Jew] back, in what part of the world they have kings and princes, dominions and kingdoms, concerning which principalities and dominions nothing certain has ever been discovered, he will answer: 'Beyond Babylon in the east, in the Caspian Mountains, is our king, who is descended from the true line of Judah. And those whom he commands are also called genuine Jews [margin: Myth of the Red Jews] and are now called in the vernacular tongue the red and most mighty Jews, who are far more numerous than all Christians combined'."[16]

The attribute red, uncommented in most texts, has here elicited an addition from the translator to the effect that the Red Jews are extremely strong, *robustissimi*, a term that

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[15]. The Latin version is called the *Opus aureum ac novum* in its original 1509 version, and the *De vita et moribus Iudeorum Victoris de Carben olim iudei nunc Christi miseratione Christiani Libellus* in a partial reprint of 1511.

[16]. Tunc si queris rursum ex eo, in qua parte orbis terrarum reges et principes dominia ac regna possident, de quorum certe potestatibus aut dominationibus nichil hactenus exploratum fuit, tum ille: Ultra baylonem in orientem in monte Caspio, rex nobis est de vera propagine iuda. Et qui sub illo sunt: ipsi quoque veri Iudaei [margin: Figmentum de Iudaeis rubris] appelantur / et qui nunc vulgo dicuntur rubri Iudaei atque robustissimi: quorum numerus multo maior est quam Christianorum. Paris edition of 1511: see Appendix A, no. 13, "8'/fol. o iiii', 33-41, lines 8-17.

evokes the hardiness of military vigor -- not the sallow, disarmed Jewish scholars, moneylenders and merchants of European -- and National Socialist -- stereotype. The marginal note alerts the reader that this story is fictitious. The learned translator feels compelled to explain the term: these Red Jews are 'red', ruddy with health, <u>because</u> they are *robustissimi*. This text provides firm proof that at this time, as in the high and later Middle Ages, the Red Jews belonged to the realm of vernacular culture. When they intruded into learned Latin, their designation had to be labelled as a vernacular term and explained by means of a descriptive adjective that made immediate, concrete sense of a vernacular term. The designation Red Jews, it would seem, did not convey to this Latinate translator the tradition-sanctioned authority and the exotic, frightening connotations current in the high and later medieval tradition.

The *De vita et moribus Iudeorum* is the only known Latin source that contains anything more about the Red Jews than their name.[7] A Latin translation of a German text -- in a nice reversal of the medieval paradigm we have already observed --, this mention of the Red Jews further anchors the term and its specifically Christian apocalyptic associations (destruction) in the realm of the vernacular: the *figmentum* of

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7. The name alone is to be found in a Latin pamphlet on evangelical preaching at Strasbourg: see below, note 70.

the Red Jews is a tradition that circulated in German among the laity, not in Latin and not among the educated -- who as early as the first decade of the sixteenth century saw this tale as a figment of the popular imagination.

That Jews and red hair were intimately connected in the sixteenth century, not merely in the Middle Ages, is proven by a pamphlet produced by the circle around Reuchlin (which also produced the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of Obscure Men). This unpleasant excrescence of the 'dirty war' between the German humanists and the Cologne Dominicans attacks both Dominican theology and their personnel. This pamphlet, printed in 1514/15, is a vicious slander aimed at Pfefferkorn.[18] The confession supposedly extracted from him under torture runs as follows:

> "Furthermore, he also confessed that he stole two children. He sold one to the Jews, and participated in its torture, and stabbed it in order to collect its blood, to use for their own needs. The other child had red hair; he sent it away unharmed."[19]

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[18]. 'Die geschicht unnd bekantnuß des getaufften Juden / genannt Johannes Pfefferkorn', Württemberqische Landesbibliothek, HBK 142; cited from Heiko A. Oberman, "Johannes Reuchlin: Von Judenknechten zu Judenrechten", in: Proceedings of the Conference 'Reuchlin und die Juden', Pforzheim, 23-26 June, 1991 (in press: Thorbecke-Verlag, 1993), 3-28; 24.

[19]. "Item er hat auch bekant: er habe zwey kinder gestolen / dz ein den Juden verkaufft und selber helffen martern / unnd gestochen das sy das blut vom im überkommen haben / zu gebrauchen zu irer notturfft. Das ander kindt hat rot har gehabt / das selbig hat er wider hienweg geschickt on schaden." 'Die geschicht unnd bekantnuß', fil. a2ᵛ; cited from

The ugly defamation of ritual murder serves as a frame for an attempt to discredit the combative Pfefferkorn by using thoroughly traditional terms;[29] similarly, a traditional Christian belief in the association between red hair and Jewishness inspired the 'realistic' interjection that Pfefferkorn allowed the red-haired child to go free, presumably because it was Jewish.

Another convert, Antonius Margaritha, draws on Victor to present a slightly different version of this same tale in his

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Oberman, "Johannes Reuchlin", note 82.

[29]. Pfefferkorn himself denied that Jews engaged in ritual murder, or that they needed Christian blood for any purpose: "Vort verkundigen ich allen ind ycklichen mynschen na dem dat under uns cristen eyn gemeyn rede sprechende ist, dat die joeden genoedigt syn, Cristen bloitz gebruchende die jonge cristen kyndere deshalven umb zo brengen, und dair beneven mit anderen unnatyrlichen krenckden beladen sullen syn. Myn aller lieffsten Cristen, wilt geynen geloven her up haven noch setzen, want idt widder die hillige schrijfft und dat gesetz der naturen und widder die redelicheit verfangen wird, unnd dair umb ich ehe die joeden yrre unschoult disser sachen untschuldigen moiß..." Judenspiegel (Cologne 1507; Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Cologne, AD^{bl} 150), fol. giii^{r}. For a thorough discussion, see Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden*, 51-54. Pfefferkorn also would suggest at a later date that he knew nothing of such goings-on, perhaps because his former co-religionists had kept him in the dark, since he had never been a very good Jew (see his *Beschyrmung*, published in 1516, fol. aiiii^{v}; cited by Kirn, 53). The anti-Dominican author(s) of the 1514/15 pamphlet may have chosen to accuse Pfefferkorn of participating in ritual murder not only to tar him as a wicked Jew, but to dismiss his claim that the Jews do not kill Christians for their blood -- especially since Pfefferkorn's ally Johannes Eck claimed to have seen with his own eyes the tortured body of a child alledgedly murdered by Jews in Freiburg in 1503 (Kirn, 53).

Der gantz Jüdisch glaub (Augsburg, 1530).[21] When the narrator asks certain Jews in whom they placed their faith and hope if not in Jesus Christ, they make numerous answers -- the sixth of which Antonius reports as follows: "... they comfort themselves greatly with hopes about the Ten Tribes, whom King Assyrios[22] drove away, and resettled beyond Assyria in the cities Chalo, Chovor by the river Goson and in the city of Modai[23] as you will find in the fourth book of Kings, chapter 17 [II Kings 17:6]. I am greatly puzzled, however, why these Ten Tribes are called Red Jews. They [the Jews] have a firm hope that these Red Jews will come and liberate them"[24] -- when God decides to stop the flow of the Sambation. This last, distinctly Jewish element appears in Victor of Carben's treatise as well, but Antonius' version betrays less familiarity with the vernacular and Latin traditions of Europe. Indeed, whereas Victor's Cologne translator felt compelled to add *robustissimi* to make clear just what the Red Jews are, Antonius is bewildered as to why the Ten Tribes are

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21. Published by H. Steyner; Wolfenbüttel 171.10 Quod.(10).

22. Salmanasar, king of the Assyrians.

23. II. Kings 17,6: "In the ninth year of Hosea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."

24. See Appendix A, no. 16, lines 1-9.

called Red Jews.[15] This shows that the term was not only limited to the German-speaking world, but exclusively Christian, since he would have known its meaning had it been current among Jews.[16] Victor and Antonius used the term most likely to be understood by their German-speaking audience.

Antonius claims that the Jews have "Hebrew and German booklets in which they lie a great deal and write about these Ten Tribes and the river Sambation, [...] on the other side of which these Red Jews live". Antonius echoes Victor's refutation of Jewish claims, stating that he has questioned many experienced merchants, and none has heard of such a place; indeed, he wonders, how could it have existed for twenty-two centuries without anyone having discovered so numerous a people and so miraculous a river![17]

These accounts of Jewish hopes concerning the Ten Tribes are not merely a Christian slander on Jewish credulity (as

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[15]. Fol. Zi, lines 9-11.

[16]. When the Dominican Peter Schwartz reported in his *Stern Meschiach* of 1477 on a legendary Jewish kingdom in the east, he based his recounting on Jewish tales, and did not allow Christian legends to 'contaminate' what is almost an ethnological field report. Therefore, his version of the Ten Tribes story lacks the term Red Jews. A recent Israeli contribution to the literature concerning the Jewish legend of the Ten Tribes traces the relevant stories from Biblical antiquity to the twentieth century, but mentions neither the Red Jews nor their significance in German literary and exegetical writings: Shalva Weil, *Beyond the Sambatyon*.

[17]. For the German text and my translation, see Appendix A, no. 16, lines 1-26.

they were intended), but also a rare window on Jewish belief beyond the circle of Talmud, Torah and learned commentaries: the parallel of messianic hopes centered around the Ten Tribes in fifteenth-century Italy makes Victor's and Antonius' rendering very plausible indeed.

In the early sixteenth century, German-Jewish legend concerning the Ten Tribes included ancient elements, such as the uncrossable river Sambation, which will be stopped by God so that the Ten Tribes can come out to liberate the Jews of the Diaspora, as well as reactions to proselytizing Christian arguments, such as the notion of an unbroken tradition of Jewish kingship retained in the east. Victor and Antonius, German-Jewish converts to Christianity, fit these Jewish stories into the Christian tradition according to which Alexander the Great enclosed the Ten Tribes in or beyond the 'Caspian Mountains', and into the more specific German tradition, which calls these Jews 'Red Jews' and sees in them an appallingly strong and warlike people more of destroyers than of avengers -- although these roles are merely two confessional sides of the same apocalyptic coin.

German Christians of the early 16th century had access to the story of the Red Jews not only through medieval literary and exegetical texts and the fifteenth-century *Antichrist* books (last printing at Erfurt, 1516), but also through Victor's German-language *Judenbüchlein* and the Latin

translation of the relevant passage in at least two editions.

The legend of the Red Jews would persist until the end of the sixteenth century, though not without significant 'contamination' from the Jewish legend of the Ten Tribes as saviors of the Jews, via Victor and Antonius.

3. The Reformation: Learning, Latinity and Levels of Discourse.[18]

A) 1523/1524: Varieties of Apocalyptic Expectation

In 1523, Luther published his celebrated pamphlet 'Our Lord Jesus Christ was a born Jew'.[19] In his discussion of the Hebrew term 'alma' (young woman or virgin), Luther drew on centuries of christological re-interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. He presented arguments and a rationale of translation that supported the traditional christological-prophetic interpretation of Isaiah 7,14 while addressing the Hebrew word and its meaning in other contexts. Whatever its philological

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[18]. I am indebted to Alan E. Bernstein for the analytic model of 'levels of discourse' as a means of studying the ideas and beliefs of diverse groups without recourse to stiff models that assign texts to official, academic, learned, Latinate, vernacular or popular genres without much regard for the interactions between these groups. See his sensitive use of this analytic tool in "The Invocation of Hell in thirteenth-century Paris", in: *Supplementum Festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. J. Hankins, J. Monfasani, F. Purnell, Jr. (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies: Binghamton, NY, 1987), 13-54.

[19]. 'Daß unser Herr Jhesus Christus ein geborener Jude war'; *WA* 11.314-336 and 485ff.

merits, this explanation found immediate application or vulgarization in a pamphlet[30] by a supporter of Luther, Michael Kramer (Kromer), minister at Kunitz near Jena. Kramer was to have a checkered career as a pastor; he married and was abandoned by two women of doubtful reputation, then married a third. His theological arguments are muddled, but they demonstrate inccntrovertibly how Luther's finely-nuanced and carefully-argued reforming theology was received, reduced to simpler terms and passed on at a more popular level -- in a condensed and more folksy form suited to a different social and intellectual world than that addressed by Luther. Kramer reproduces Luther's arguments concerning the word *alma* and the prophetic content of Isaiah 7,14, but in a halting and abbreviated form, and as a dialogue.[31] This doubtless made Luther's argument accessible to more people than only those who had the money to buy and the time to read or listen to Luther's much longer work.

Kramer's text reflects the theological and historical

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[30]. "Eyn underredung vom / glawben, durch herr Micheln kromer,/ Pfarherr zu Cunitz, und eynem Judischen Rabien, mit / namen Jacob vonn Brucks, geschehen ynß / Richters hauße do selbst zu Cunitz./ Mitwoch nach Andree / M.D.xxiij." Published with a commentary and brief biographical sketch of Kramer by Otto Clemen, in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, Leipzig and New York: Rudolf Haupt, 1907, vol. II, 423-344 (sic: 444). See Appendix A, no. 14 for the German text and my translation.

[31]. Kramer, *Underredung*, 434ff.

contents of contemporary thinking at the level not of the theologians and reformers, but of the common people. Of interest here is 'Rabbi Jacob's' account of a hidden group of Israelites, half of the tribe of Manasseh that stayed behind when Moses led the Jews out of Egypt. These Jews have been enclosed by the river Sambation, which flows so wildly as to prevent crossing, except on the Sabbath, when it rests and Jews are prohibited from travelling. They are called the Red Jews, and they still have prophets -- a dim echo of an argument reported on elsewhere, according to which the Red Jews or Ten Tribes still have 'the scepter' (kingship) somewhere in the east of Asia. According to 'Rabbi Jacob', the Sambation ceased flowing that very summer of 1523 for an entire week, which 'the prophets' interpreted as a sign that God had decided to free the enclosed Jews and lead them home to Israel.

Kramer's pamphlet anticipates many of the details that appear in the five 1523 editions of the 'Red and Black Jews' pamphlet,[72] e.g., the idea that the Turkish 'emperor' (Sultan) and the Red Jews are now fighting or are about to go to war over the Promised Land, and that the Red Jews are an army of six hundred thousand. In both Kramer's and the 'Red and Black Jews' pamphlets, the report concerning the Red Jews is imputed

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[72]. See Appendix A, no. 18.

to Jewish sources. There can be no doubt that some version of this tale circulated among Jews, but the action described fits easily into an authoritative German, Christian context of apocalyptic expectation: when the (Red) Jews reconquer Jerusalem, the time of the Antichrist is at hand.

Kramer seems here to have drawn on a more central source belonging to a rather higher level of discourse, Victor's *Judenbüchlein*. Kramer once again distorts and severely curtails the material of his source, but he also adds details not present in Victor's account, especially when he refers to the imminent publication of a report concerning the Red Jews.[13] Kramer's account, then, is an unique testimonial to the serious consideration accorded the legend of the Red Jews in evangelical circles somewhat 'below' the level of official Wittenberg doctrinal debate. In 1523, the legend of the Red Jews was presented to a broad readership as true; onto this version of the medieval tale the Jewish story of the Ten Tribes was engrafted.

The year 1523 was charged with hope and fear. Since Johann Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio in Latino* (a fusion of astrological predictions and Joachimite ideas concerning the

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[13]. Kramer is referring to the 1523 Red and Black Jews pamphlet, treated below. Clemen even reprinted a version in the notes to Kramer's pamphlet -- without commentary! See Clemen, *Flugschriften* I, 442-444, note 1; the pages are misnumbered as 342-344.

approaching end, first published in 1488[34]), a second Deluge had been foreseen for the year 1524.[35] Joseph Grünpeck's 1508 *Speculum* (Latin and German editions) adapted Lichtenberger's work,[36] and the main elements of these predictions were taken up in numerous abbreviations and adaptations -- both astrological and prophetic -- printed between 1515 and 1525.[37] Johann Virdung of Haßfurt published three prognostications, in 1520, 1521 and 1523, telling of the coming horrors of 1524. His *Practica Teutsch* of 1521/22 foretells war and floods that would precede the arrival of an 'Endchrist'.

The best proof that these predictions were taken seriously by many Germans is that supporters of Luther published various 'anti-practica' designed to counteract the influence of such 'superstition'. From the evangelical

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[34]. See McGinn, *Visions*, 270-274; for further literature, see 271, note 8. Lichtenberger was convinced by the advances of the Turks into Christendom (especially Constantinople) that the End was near. Luther published an edition of the *Prognosticatio*, to which he contributed a preface, in 1527: *WA* 23.7-12: "Vorrhede Martini Luthers auff die weissagung des Johannis Lichtenbergers".

[35]. See Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, "The Battle of the Booklets: Prognostic Tradition and the Proclamation of the Word in early sixteenth-century Germany", in: *'Astrologi Hallucinati'*, 129-151, esp. 129 and 132.

[36]. Robinson-Hammerstein, "Booklets", 133.

[37]. These are generally known as "Practica deutsch gezogen aus der Lehre und Prophezeien Sybille, Brigitte, Cyrilli, des Abtes Joachim, Methodii und Bruder Reinhards", or some variation on these themes. They are usually anonymous; see Robinson-Hammerstein, "Booklets", 133.

perspective, superstition meant illegitimate 'traffic' in non-Biblical spiritual or religious information.[18] Luther would treat the Red Jews with this same scholarly, critical attitude. Nonetheless, the great popularity and continuity of these *practica* suggest that they fell on fertile ground among those parts of the population less likely to be reached by learned, especially Latin, treatments of the End Time.

The Peasant's War erupted in earnest in 1524, but the unrest it reflected had deep roots.[19] The reintroduction of Roman Law and the feudal lords' attempts to extract more profit from peasant holdings by means of higher taxes and labor services had already led to numerous uprisings. The most important were the revolt of the Piper of Niklashausen in

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[18]. Heike Talkenberger, "Prophetie und Zeitgeschehen. Texte und Holzschnitte astrologischer Flugschriften zur 'Sintflutdebatte' 1520-1524", in: *Reformation und Revolution. Beiträge zum politischen Wandel und den sozialen Kräften am Beginn der Neuzeit. Festschrift Rainer Wohlfeil*, eds. Rainer Postel and Franklin Kopitzsch (Stuttgart, 1989), 193-223; here 202. This 'evangelical perspective' was by no means novel. Medieval inquisitors (e.g. Etienne de Bourbon) and preachers (Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl) had been concerned to find and eradicate popular beliefs that they understood as *superstitio* or *Aberglauben*. For an overview of medieval attacks on lay 'superstition', see Karin Baumann, *Aberglaube für Laien. Zur Programmatik und Überlieferung mittelalterlicher Superstitionskritik*, 2. vols. (Würzburg, 1989; =Quellen und Forschungen zur europäischen Ethnologie, 6; published typescript of dissertation, Universität Würzburg, 1987).

[19]. See Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525*, trans. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. and Erik Midelfort (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), for a study of the revolutionary aspects of the Peasants' War and its background.

Franconia (1476), the *Bundschuh* uprising in Alemannia (1493) with recurrences under Jos Fritz into the sixteenth century, and the 'Poor Conrad' uprising of Swabia (1514). Furthermore, the rising of the Imperial Knights in 1522-1523, involving such luminaries as Ulrich von Hütten and Franz von Sickingen, must have made it seem to contemporaries, steeped as they were in apocalyptic lore, that the world was coming unglued.

It was in 1523 that David Reubeni, the Oriental (or perhaps German[40]) Jew who claimed to be a prince from the tribe of Reuben and an emissary of the Ten Tribes, showed up in Italy. In February of 1524, he was received with all due ceremony by several cardinals and by Pope Clement VII.[41] The context of fifteenth century Jewish and Christian expectations concerning the Ten Tribes helps explain the extraordinary success met with by the 'mission' of the mysterious David. He announced that his people, one of the ten lost tribes of Israel, had survived and constituted a powerful kingdom in Arabia. David also capitalized on the fear inspired by Ottoman military successes -- the same vague and widespread uneasiness that produced the 1523 'Red and Black Jews' pamphlet. He proposed to the Pope that if 'Christendom' were to furnish

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[40]. Adolf Neubauer suggests that David Reubeni was a German Jew: "Where are the Ten Tribes?", IV, 408.

[41]. See Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews*, IV, 491ff, and Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIII, 109ff.

ships and weapons, as well as a military contingent, his people would help to drive the Turk from the Holy Land.

The earliest source to describe this episode is the *Iggeret Orhot Olam* of Abraham Ferussol (Farissol/Faritzol)[42], published at Ferrara in 1524; subsequent generations of Jewish scholars -- few Christians have shown interest in the topic -- have gathered and ordered the evidence.[43]

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[42]. See David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati, 1981).

[43]. This tale is also reported by Rabbi David Gans (1541-1613) in his *Zemah David* ('The Seed of David'), published at Prague in 1592. The material is available to non-Hebraists in a 1644 Latin translation of the *Zemah David* (*Chronologia // Sacra-Profana // A mundi conditu ad annum M. 5352 vel // Christi 1592, dicta // Zemah David // Germen Davidis // Auctore R. David Gans // per Guilielmum Henric. Vorstium*, Lugduni Batavorum, Ioannis Maire, 1644; 152. Wolfenbüttel 125.24 Quod.). Adolf Neubauer devoted eight pages to the story: "Where are the Ten Tribes?", IV, 408-415. On pages 415-423, Neubauer briefly summarizes Jewish reports concerning the Ten Tribes from 1523/24 to his own time. Heinrich Graetz tells the story at considerable length in his *History of the Jews*, IV, 491ff. Salo Wittmayer Baron also devotes a number of pages to this topic in his *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIII, 109-115; his notes, on pages 364-366 are a treasure-trove of sources and information on this colorful episode of Jewish-Christian relations. On page 110, Baron summarizes the eyewitness account of Daniel da Pisa, "a wealthy banker and leader of the Roman Jewish community", who served as an interpreter when Reubeni was admitted to an audience with the Pope: "David claimed that he had been sent by Jews living 300,000 strong in the desert of Tabor (Habor, Khaibar), in order to conclude an alliance with the Pope and other Christian potentates. The Christian rulers were to supply the Jewish warriors with artillery and ammunition, as well as a few instructors, so that they might successfully open a new front against the Turks. " (111). Clement, whatever his reservations might have been (Baron assumes "the papal Curia undoubtedly had considerable reservations about the veracity

David did not have much trouble persuading Christians and Jews alike of his claims. The messianic mood was intense at this time among European and Eastern Jews, and both Jews and Christians put great stock in the age-old story of the Ten Tribes.[44] The geographer Abraham Ferussol, who knew David Reubeni personally, comments:

> "Be this as it may [a Jewish kingdom in the east], true or not, and whatever this Jew may be, in our country [Italy] kings, princes and the people believe that the Tribes are still in existence, that they are numerous, and that they have many kings."[45]

Reubeni was received by Pope Clement VII in 1524. He had presented letters of introduction from Portuguese captains and business agents. These letters were sent to the Portuguese court for verification, which was provided. Reubeni was treated as an ambassador at Rome; he rode through the streets on a white mule accompanied by ten Jews and more than two

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of David's assertions"; 111), sent David off with two letters, one to the king of Portugal and another to the king of Abyssinia. The first, dated September 17th, 1524, recommends David and his mission to the Portuguese king, and states that giving David the few cannon and canoneers he requested might be advantageous to 'the Christian commonwealth'. I am endebted to Gordon Weiner (Arizona State University, Tempe) for his generous help.

[44]. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIII, 110, note 53.

[45]. For Ferussol's report, see Adolf Neubauer, "Where are the Ten Tribes?, IV, 409; this passage is translated by Neubauer from Ferussol's influential work *Iggeret Orhot Olam* (Ferrara, 1524), the fourteenth chapter of which is devoted to the fate of the ten lost tribes.

hundred Christians. Reubeni eventually left Rome for Portugal, equipped with letters of introduction from Clement VII, who seems to have supported David's project to reconquer the Holy Land with Christian and Jewish forces. Clement asked the Portuguese king to have Portuguese captains sailing to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean investigate Reubeni's story.

As we have seen, in the fifteenth century, the Jewish communities of Italy received a series of letters from the middle East reporting that the Ten Tribes had crossed the Sambation. Amidst the tribulations of the 1520s, many were ready to believe that the messianic age was at hand. Some calculations placed the coming of the Redeemer in 1524, which lent added credibility to David's message.[46] The hard-pressed Jews of the Iberian Peninsula saw in David Reubeni a precursor of the Messiah or of the Messianic age and of the imminent return to Jerusalem.[47] Reubeni, however, claimed to be on a military mission. Graetz explains Jewish credulity by pointing out that after 1492, the Marranos in the Iberian peninsula "lived and breathed messianic hopes and dreams as the only answer to their well-nigh impossible situation".[48] In response

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[46]. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIII, 110.

[47]. *Idem*.

[48]. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, IV, 491ff.

to the news of the arrival at Lisbon of an emissary from the 'Jewish Kingdom', a new wave of Marranos flooded from Spain into Portugal to be closer to their supposed savior. David stepped carefully and tried to make no promises, but all eyes were fixed on him.

This dark-skinned emissary, or rather adventurer, inspired at least one New Christian, a Portuguese Marrano called Diogo Pires, to convert publicly to Judaism and proclaim the imminent coming of the Messiah. Pires, who took the Hebrew name Salomo Molcho, was driven by messianic dreams and visions. When he approached Reubeni to discover whether or not his visions coincided with Reubeni's mission, Reubeni gave him the cold shoulder, explaining that his was a military, not a messianic mission.

To prove his sincerity, Molcho broke laws aimed at eradicating Jewish observances by circumcising himself. Some months later, when he had recovered -- presumably from infection --, he was spirited out of Portugal. He travelled to the Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire, including Adrianople, Salonica and Safed, where he made a deep impression and gathered a considerable following. He introduced Joseph Karo to the Cabbalah[49] and inspired this

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[49]. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, IV, 496; see also Howard E. Adelman, "From Zion Shall Go Forth the Law: on the 500th Anniversary of the Birth of Joseph Caro", in: *Jewish Book Annual* 45 (1987-1988/5748), 143-157; 147.

sober Sephardic exile with a messianic fervor similar to his own.[50] On his return to Italy in the late 1520s, Molcho secured the protection of the Pope, which extended so far as to save him from the bonfires of the Inquisition: a surrogate was sent to die for him on the pyre.[51] While David was in favor at the Portuguese court, King João seemed to have forgotten his previous intention to eradicate the Marranos left in his kingdom. The expulsion of Spanish Jewry in 1492 and the forced baptisms of 1497 (under João's predecessor Manoel) had created a large community of *conversos* in Portugal, some of whom were sincere Christians and some of whom were not. The Lisbon massacre of 1506 had not solved any problems, only poisoned the religious atmosphere more thoroughly.[52] The circumcision and flight of Salomo Molcho, who under his Christian name had been a royal secretary, gave great offense at court. It was suggested to the king that David had abetted Pires/Molcho. As a result, João expelled David from Portugal, and ended his toleration of the Marranos at the instigation of his queen, the Dominican order and

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[50]. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, IV, 537ff.

[51]. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIII, 112-113.

[52]. See Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the 'Shebet Yehudah'* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Annual Supplements, 1, 1976).

Miguel da Silva, the Portuguese emissary to Rome.[53]

When the ship carrying David and his retinue away from Portugal was wrecked off the coast of Spain, in 1525, David was captured and imprisoned by the Spanish authorities. He was ordered to appear before the Inquisition but released when Charles V intervened. David fled to Avignon under papal protection.[54]

The feverish apocalyptic and messianic expectations both of Jews and of Christians assured Reubeni some kind of hearing and support wherever he went. Reubeni and Molcho were received by Emperor Charles V at Regensburg in 1532. Molcho's career as an enthusiastic proponent of the Cabbalah and of messianic hopes would end at the stake at Mantua in the same year; Charles had him burned as an apostate. David Reubeni was imprisoned by Charles at the same time, and eventually fell into the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, which condemned him in 1538 to 'relaxation' -- to the secular authorities, for execution.[55]

The rumors, tales and pamphlets concerning a Jewish kingdom in the east were very real to both Christians and Jews alike, real enough to secure the belief and support of Clement

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[53]. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, IV, 499.

[54]. *Idem*.

[55]. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIII, 115.

VII; to guarantee Reubeni's safety in Portugal, where no Jews were allowed to live as Jews; to secure his release from Spanish captivity by order of the Emperor; and to induce Charles V to grant him and Salomo Molcho an audience. Both Molcho and Reubeni had participated in efforts by the Portuguese New Christians to block the introduction of the Inquisition in Portugal; both had attracted a dedicated following and inspired considerable trust for nearly ten years. The desperate condition of the 'conversos' or Marranos after 1492 fanned the flames of apocalyptic and messianic expectations in the Jewish communities of Europe; these expectations were mirrored in Christian apocalyptic hopes and fears as well, right down to the details of the supposed Ten Lost Tribes or Red Jews. Neither Graetz nor Baron seems to have noticed that not only Jews, but also Christians, including some very influential figures, were easily persuaded by Reubeni and Molcho.

B) The Red and Black Jews of 1523

Into this climate of feverish expectation concerning the Last Things ('imminentism') and unrest both actual and anticipated, burst a pamphlet of frightful aspect.[56] We have

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[56]. On the the importance of pamphlets and their meteoric rise in the German-speaking lands from about 1517 to 1525, see the impressive collection of articles, esp. that of Richard G. Cole, "The Reformation Pamphlet and Communication Processes", in: *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit*. Beiträge zum Tübinger Symposion 1980, ed. Hans-Joachim Köhler

seen that its appearance was announced in advance by Michael Kramer, a marginal member of Luther's circle at Wittenberg. It ran through at least five editions in that same year.[57] The impact of such a pamphlet is difficult to gauge; the number of copies printed per edition, impossible to establish with any

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(Stuttgart, 1981; =Spätmittelalter und frühe Neuzeit 13), 139-161.

[57]. The text reproduced and translated in Appendix A, no. 18 is from the following edition, probably the second: *Von ainer grosse meng// und gewalt der Juden*, with a woodcut, 4 sheets, [Augsburg: Steiner], 1523; Wolfenbüttel 196.14 Hi (9), reproduced in Hans-Joachim Köhler's microfiche collection (*Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, Zug 1978ff), Fiche 1304, no. 3374, made from München SB 4° Ded. 102/4 (Res).

According to textual evidence, what is probably the first edition, dated 1523, is reprinted in Clemen, *Flugschriften*, vol. 1, 342-344. This version corresponds to number 2082 of Panzer's *Annalen* II, 231; it was printed by Clemen from the copy held by the Zwickau Ratsschulbibliothek (XVII.IX.16_{16}).

Steiner produced another edition, with slightly different orthography but with the same woodcut title page, in 1523: HAB 131.1 Th. (27), Köhler Fiche 1044, Nr. 2636; noted in Emil Weller's *Repertorium typographicum. Die deutsche Literatur im ersten Viertel des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, im Anschluß an Hains Repertorium und Panzers deutsche Annalen* (Nördlingen 1864/Hildesheim 1961 (Olms reprint), vol. III of Panzer's *Annalen* reprint), no. 2616 (p. 294). According to Weller, a fourth version is present in Dresden and Vienna (as well as Munich); number 2615: *Ein send / brieff von einer gros=/ se meng der Juden*, 1523; this version differs slightly from the first two in that the title ends with the words "zum teyl glaublich und warhafftig underricht". It is also written in a southern German dialect.

A fifth version is reproduced by Köhler, Fiche 1659, Nr. 4279, taken from München SB Rar.4290. This copy is also dated 1523 and has the same contents, though orthography and typesetting differ; a final comment has been added: "Got schicks zu"m pessten": May God grant that it all turn out well.

See also the *Flugschriftensammlung Gustav Freytag*, ed. Paul Hohenheimer (Frankfurt a/M, 1925), 46-47.

precision. The best-informed estimates provided by historians of books and printing suggest that editions of up to 4,000 copies appeared in the 1520s, but that was the first edition of Luther's 'An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation' of 1520. Data concerning government-sponsored broadsides printed at Ulm suggest much more modest figures -- three editions of 100 copies and one of 200; a series of Bamberg broadsides published between 1527 and 1537 came out in printings numbering as few as 110 and as many as 1,500 copies.[58] The pamphlet, which would seem to have appealed to a fairly broad audience, was a popular production more attuned to the law of the market than a government broadside, but of less lasting interest and commercial potential than Luther's appeal to the German nobility. The 1523 pamphlet may have come out in a modest first edition, but the subsequent four editions prove that there was considerable demand: it is not unreasonable to suggest that, given a total of five editions by different printers, between 1,000 and 5,000 copies of this pamphlet circulated in southern Germany.[59]

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[58]. Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 67; for the broadsides, Hirsch is citing data published by Karl Schottenloher in his article "Der Frühdruck im Dienste der öffentlichen Verwaltung", in: *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 19-24 (1944-49), 138-148.

[59]. No northern German version has come to light. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin have stated, concerning book printing, that from the late fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, "an average edition [consisted] of

These pamphlets reported the imminent arrival of a great horde of Jews marching out of the deserts of Africa.[60] This

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somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500 copies, with occasional figures below that." *The Coming of the Book*, 218. However, Hirsch cites the caveat of Friedrich Kapp: "Up to the middle of the XVIth century no rule can be established for the size of editions. Available data are too incomplete." Individual examples do not establish a rule on which to base generalizations. *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 68; from *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* I: *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das 17. Jahrhundert* (ed. from author's unpublished papers by J. Goldfriedrich) (Leipzig, 1886), 323. The size of editions is still a vexed question. In his short overview of the pamphlet genre, "Pamphlet Literature of the German Reformation", Steven Ozment does not mention the question of printing runs, though he is concerned to demonstrate the broad appeal and dissemination (via reading aloud) of Reformation-era pamphlets; in: *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. S. Ozment (St. Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 85-106. Likewise, in his important article "Stadt und Buch. Bemerkungen zur Struktur der reformatorischen Bewegung in Deutschland", Bernd Moeller makes the case that the printed book was extraordinarily important in the dissemination and functioning of the Reformation in the German cities; yet he nowhere addresses the question of how many copies of the books (which include 'pamphlets') in question were actually printed. *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland/The Urban Classes, the Nobility and the Reformation. Studies on the Social History of the Reformation in England and Germany*, ed. W. Mommsen, P. Alter and R. Scribner (Stuttgart, 1979; =Publications of the German Historical Institute London 5), 25-39. None of the articles in *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit* faces this question squarely.

[60]. This detail corresponds to the tradition of Eldad the Danite, rather than to the traditional legend of the Red Jews, who had always been located in the far north-east of Asia; this pamphlet displays features of many different traditions and may even have been influenced by Victor von Carben's *Judenbüchlein* of 1508. For the title-page woodcut, which depicts an army of Jews, recognizable by their pointed Jews' hats, coming out of the mountains, and about to cross a river, see Appendix D, no. 6. In the foreground, a snake represents the poisonous beasts of the desert. The river is the

army of 600,000 consisted of *schwartz und rodt Juden* (black and red Jews), who were encamped a mere thirty days' march from Jerusalem. They had, according to this account, demanded Jerusalem from the Sultan, and threatened to take it by force if necessary. This announcement can, indeed must, be read in two ways that are not at all mutually exclusive:

1) it was meant to sound the loudest alarm possible: it was the latest news from the front in the great battle between God and the Antichrist. Its message, clear to those who read it or heard it read, is that the world is about to end; the Last Judgment is about to take place. This interpretation, not immediately evident from the text of the pamphlet, is supported by the apocalyptic context in which the Red Jews are discussed by Victor von Carben, Antonius Margaritha, Johannes Agricola and Martin Luther. Luther and Agricola reject explicitly the popular Christian legend of the Red Jews as apocalyptic destroyers -- with sufficient vehemence to establish that this popular legend was current and widespread in third decade of the sixteenth century.

2) At the same time, as shown by the subsequent pamphlet tradition of the Red Jews, the immediate occasion for this report was the Turkish threat. The wars of the preceding decade in Egypt and Palestine between the Ottoman lords and

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Sambation, and it is still.

local groups, such as the Mamlûks, are the background to this pamphlet; even the Persian *Sophoy* (shah or ruler)[61] is said to be involved. In this part of the world, then as now, geopolitics is inextricably linked with theology -- particularly with the eschatological interpretation of the 'signs of the times'. The 1523 pamphlet addresses both 'high politics' and theology, interpreting them through pre-existing categories drawn from the world of popular apocalyptic ideas and beliefs. It fitted perceptions of new political events into a traditional religious, exegetical framework, much as Luther did when he interpreted the Pope as the Antichrist, or the Turks as Gog and Magog.

The role the Jews were to play as the Last Things unfolded was far from clear. The apocalyptic background of this remarkable pamphlet offered a wide range of predictions about the conversion of the Jews, about the Jewish servants of the Antichrist, and even about the Messiah awaited by the Jews. To many Christian authors, the Jewish Messiah was none

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[61]. Sophoy or sophy is from the sixteenth-century Persian *çafi*, surname of the ruling dynasty of Persia from c.1500 - c.1736, derived from the Arabic epithet *çafi-ud-din* ('purity of religion') given to an ancestor of Ismail Sophy, founder of the dynasty. See the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. C.T. Onions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), 846. This may have been an echo of an approach to the Persian Shah as a possible ally against the Turks, made in the early 1520s by Charles V. See Stephen Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism 1521-1555* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 16.

other than the Antichrist. The central concern of such exegetes was generally not the Jews or their apocalyptic role, but rather the horrifying Eschaton itself -- the final judgement predicted in such graphic and horrible detail in Revelation, the Sibylline prophecies, and the 'revelations' and apocalyptic tales popular in the Middle Ages. Many apocalyptic texts make little or no mention of Jews; others, as in the case of this pamphlet, concentrate on the role of the Jews at the end of time without making overt reference to concomitant apocalyptic themes.

These pamphlets contain a tantalizing reference to black Jews living in Africa,[12] whom we know as the Beta Israel or Falasha. Although stories about black Jews living in Africa had circulated for many centuries,[13] these Jews are not

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[12]. See Wolf Leslau, *Falasha Anthology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951); *Encyclopedia Judaica*, New York: Keter Publishing House, 1971, vol. 6, 1144. Neither Leslau (ix) nor the encyclopedia article cited here makes the connection between stories about the Falasha and the kind of stories these pamphlets report. Cf. Henry Aaron Stern's classic *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia* (London: Cass, 1967/1862); James Arthur Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a history of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1992) and Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel in Ethiopia: from the earliest times to the twentieth century* (New York: New York University Press, 1992).

[13]. Around the end of the ninth century, a long tradition of speculation in Jewish and Arab sources concerning the whereabouts of the scattered tribes of Israel crystallized into the narrative of Eldad the Danite, who appeared in Qairouan (Kairowân, in modern-day Tunisia), where he told the Jewish community that he had been in communication with the

important in western, or rather, Christian, ideas about what the Jews' function was to be in the history of salvation. However, the Ten Tribes did play such a role, especially in the German-speaking lands, under the name Red Jews: a term that caught, stored, amalgamated and amplified prejudices about Jews and fears about the destruction to come at the end of time. In the 1523 pamphlets, the Red Jews are held to be

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Ten Tribes, mentioning Jews in Africa as well as the Judeo-Chazaric kingdom (near the Black Sea). Adolf Neubauer notes in the commentary to his translation that this story spread quickly and became "the Arabian Nights of the Jews": "Where are the Ten Tribes?", here 98-99; translation 99-104. See chapter 2. Leslau notes: "The sources for our knowledge of the Falashas are of various kinds. Among the oldest testimonies to the existence of Jews in Ethiopia are the reports of Jewish travelers like Eldad Haddani [ha-Dani] (ninth century), Benjamin of Tudela (twelfth century), Elijah of Ferrara (fifteenth century) and others. Most of these accounts report things of legendary character that lack historical basis, and are presumably based on hearsay. Ethiopia was known throughout the Middle Ages as the country of Prester John and was supposed to be the habitat of the Ten Tribes. This idea excited the curiosity of travelers who vaguely related that there were Jews living in Ethiopia or that Jews had come thither from other countries." (*Falasha Anthology*, ix). Leslau ignores the role of tradition in such reports, and fails to mention the older and, in the middle ages, more usual customs according to which Prester John was ruler of the Indies and the Ten Tribes had been exiled to Asia.

The Jerusalem Kabbalist Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi wrote in a letter dated 1528 that the Jews of Ethiopia were the tribes of Gad and Dan; in a letter addressed to Avraham of Perugia in 1523, Israel Ashkenazi of Jerusalem mentions a man from one of the Lost Tribes, said to be fluent in Cushite and Hebrew, who claimed that there was in his country no written book of the Oral Law, as is the case among the Falasha. Later rabbinical authorities, including the former chief Sephardi rabbi of Israel, Ovadiah Yosef, would argue that the Ethiopian Jews were descended from the tribe of Dan (Weil, *Beyond the Sambatyon*, 89).

descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel. However, the connection to Alexander, Gog and Magog, so clear in the fifteenth-century *Antichrist* books and in later sixteenth-century pamphlets (where Alexander appears -- without reference to Gog and Magog -- as the encloser of the Ten Tribes), is missing. For the modern reader, the apocalyptic element is only implicit in the 1523 text: contemporaries, steeped as they were in apocalyptic lore, knew that if the Jews are making for Jerusalem, the end of the world must be at hand.

The 1523 Red and Black Jews pamphlet must be seen not only against the background of apocalyptic tradition and expectation, but in its immediate historical context. The rapidly-expanding Ottoman empire, under the generalship of Selîm I (1512-1520), conquered Syria and the Mamlûk armies of Al-Ghawrî at Marj Dâbik on 24 August 1516; the Mamlûk sultan died on the battlefield. Egypt held out until 22 January 1517 under Tuman Bey; on 17 July, 1517, the Sharif of Mecca sent Selîm the keys of the Holy Cities and announced his submission. All of Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the Hejaz were under Ottoman suzerainty.[14] The Ottoman state had developed from a frontier state to become the ruler and protector of the

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[14]. Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 33-34.

Islamic world; state income from tolls, tariffs and taxes filled the Palace treasury to overflowing -- thus establishing the preconditions for the aggressive imperialism of Süleymân I ('The Magnificent'; r.1520-1566).

However, Ottoman rule in the newly-conquered middle East was still precarious. Revolts in Damascus in 1520-21 preceded a series of revolts in Egypt from 1522-1524.[45] Following the death of the pro-Ottoman governor Kha'ir Bey in 1522, Mamlûk notables in Egypt fomented a series of revolts against Ottoman rule. The first was precipitated by the arrival of Mustafa Pasha, brother-in-law of Süleymân, as successor to Kha'ir Bey. A more serious rebellion occurred in late summer and autumn of 1523. Ahmed Pasha, a man of Caucasian origin, linked to the Mamlûks, appointed viceroy of Egypt in August of 1523, was disappointed by this post and declared himself Sultan. He committed deliberate acts of *lèse-majesté* by having his name recited in public prayer and stamped on the coinage. He assembled a large army, composed largely of Mamlûks, and held onto power until toppled by Ottoman forces in 1524.[46]

These goings-on are echoed roughly and sensationally in

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[45]. O.E. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 111-112; see also *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. G.R. Elton, II (Cambridge 1962), 511.

[46]. P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 47-49.

the 1523 pamphlet. It had been reported to the Jew who 'narrates' the text that

> "... all the Jewish land, Jerusalem, Egypt and Arabia along with many other countries that belong to the Holy Sepulchre had seceded from the Turk and submitted to the Sophoy, and that they fully intended to defend themselves and the Holy Sepulchre against Turkish aggression. In response, the Turk has dispatched a great many ships to Cairo against the Sophoy, who has in turn increased his forces at sea and on land against the Turk. Thus, it seems that this is the sole reason for the Turkish advance on Hungary and other countries this summer."[67]

The notion that the 'Jewish lands' as well as 'Arabia' and Egypt had gone over to the Sophy was not fanciful: the Ottoman authorities feared an alliance between the rebellious ruler of Egypt, Ahmed Pasha, and Isma'il Sophy.[68] Therefore, the portentious events of the early 1520s concerned lordship not only over Mecca and Medina, the two most holy cities of Islam,

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[67]. See Appendix A, no. 18, fol. aiii^{r} - aiii^{v}, lines 22-28 and 1-6.

[68]. The suggested connection between the Egyptian rebels and the Persian sophy did not exist, according to all available evidence. However, Holt admits the possibility of a connection between Ahmed's rebellion (1523) and the pre-existing imperial and religious hostility between Isma'il Sophy, the Shi'ite ruler of Persia, and the Sunni' Süleymân. One of Ahmed's pricipal advisors was originally a Shi'ite from the Safawiyya heartland. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent*, 50. In the period 1514-1516, Isma'il had engaged in active hostilities with Selîm over Tabriz, Syria and other places. Selîm believed there was a secret alliance between Qansuh, Mamlûk ruler of Egypt, and Isma'il. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, 101-104. The *New Cambridge Modern History* claims that Qansuh "intended to support" Isma'il against Selîm, but only to further his own interests and weaken the Ottomans -- not because of any pre-existing alliance (vol. I, 414).

but also over the Jewish and Christian spiritual 'capital', Jerusalem. As we have seen, lordship over Jerusalem was a central element of Christian apocalypticism, just as it had been a central element of Christian politics, since the early Middle Ages at least. Naval power, evoked in simple terms as 'a great many ships' sent by 'the Turk' to Cairo, had been the key to Ottoman expansion around the shores of the Mediterranean;[69] the victory of Lepanto (1571) was received with such jubilation in Europe precisely because of the record and reputation of the Turkish navy.[70]

The information that Turkish forces had advanced on Hungary 'this summer' places the pamphlet in the center of the inter-Habsburg debate on the Turkish problem. Charles V, fully occupied in Italy and Germany, could not be persuaded to take the Turkish menace seriously; nor could the Imperial Diet of Worms (1521), even though Ferdinand of Spain was involved in a constant struggle to procure military assistance for the hard-pressed Hungarians. In 1522, the Diet agreed to send 3,000 men to Hungary -- a tiny fraction of the 24,000 troops

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[69]. See Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk. A Pattern of Alliances 1350-1700* (Liverpool, at the University Press: 1954), esp. chapter 3, part 2, "Bayezid II and Selim I: the rise and use of Ottoman Sea-power, within and without the Mediterranean", 85-103.

[70]. For the European reaction to Lepanto, see Carl Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 3: "Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert" (Baden-Baden, 1978), 148-154.

the Hungarians were requesting. In January of 1524, the Estates agreed at the Diet of Nuremberg to send a larger force, largely to show themselves willing to follow the lead of the Emperor, who had now decided to aid the Hungarians -- yet this hope was to be dashed at the less pliant Diet convened at Speyer in 1526 (partly because Charles refused to call a council to establish a 'German Church') and by the Turkish victory at Mohacs in the same year.[1]

The author of the 1523 pamphlet sees the appearance of the Red Jews and the military goings-on in the Middle East as "the sole reason for the Turkish advance on Hungary and other countries this summer"; this may mean that he felt the Turkish advance was part of a larger apocalyptic movement. The extreme compression of information that characterizes a small pamphlet of this kind precludes definitive analysis of the exact place of this text in the larger context of imperial German and Habsburg politicking over the Turkish threat.

The pamphlet's author followed <u>current</u> events in eastern Europe, the Mediterranean basin and Middle East closely. From the perspective of the historian, the events to which he reacts belong to the history of empires in the early modern period. He, however, fitted what he had heard into the scheme that made most sense to him: the history of the single Empire,

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[1]. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism*, 20-23.

the *civitas dei*, which measures time by the eternal events of salvation-history.

4. Scepticism, Learning and Literalism: The End of the Fable

Scholars who had converted from the Jewish faith to Christianity were not the only people in sixteenth-century Germany to disbelieve the story of the Red Jews. One text intended for a learned audience showed an intimate acquaintance with the term and the motif. The work in question is a Latin treatise on evangelical preaching in Strasbourg, dated 1523. On the last page appears a brief note to the effect that it was printed "In Arabia, among the Red Jews, in the third Olympiad, thirty days from Jerusalem".[7] This mocking subterfuge suggests both a knowledge of the legend, and the consciousness that the place referred to was legendary.[7]

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[7]. *Num recte / dictum sit a concionato=/ ribus arg[entiniis] nihil nobis / tribuas, nihil nobis / auferas, Iosephi / Pacatii iudi=/ cium*, Wolfenbüttel 1215.1Th. (5) The fictitious place of printing is found on the last page: ARABIAE APUD IUDAEOS RU=/ BROS, OLIMPIADE TER=/ TIA, TRIGINTA DIE=/ BUS A IERUSA=/ LEM.

[7]. The details (Red Jews in Arabia, thirty days from Jerusalem) suggest a knowledge of the 1523 Black and Red Jews pamphlet. One possible interpretation is that the author meant to suggest that Reformation preaching and the cause of the Reformation would sweep Christendom like the Red Jews to prepare Christians for the End Time -- yet this would fit Luther's world-view better than that of the urbane Latinist who wrote this pamphlet.

In the preface to his Latin translation of Luther's 1523 treatise on the Jews, 'Libellus Martini Lutheri, Christum Iesum, verum Iudeum et semen esse Abrahae' (Wittenberg 1524), Luther's confederate Justus Jonas (+1555)[74] is as sceptical as Victor von Carben concerning the Jewish tale of continuing kingship in the East, and just as eager to make converts. However, the fresh success of evangelical preaching in the optimistic period preceding the Peasants' War inspired in Jonas hopes of mass conversions among the Jews as God's Word and wondrous works spread like wildfire. Noteworthy is Jonas' bitingly satirical tone: the Rabbis invent such stories (*fingunt; comminiscuntur*) to hoodwink the common people with vain Messianic hopes. The idea of a Jewish kingdom in the East is so ridiculous to Jonas that he is moved to sketch a science fiction plot, asking why the Rabbis don't just say it is on the moon.[75]

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[74]. Jonas was made Provost (*Propst*) of the Castle Church and Professor of Theology at Wittenberg in 1521; he led the reform at Halle, 1541-1546, after which he fell from favor with his patron, Duke Maurice of Saxony. For a description of Jonas' role as Luther's 'special advisor' on Jewish matters, see Oberman, *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus*, 61 and 210-211.

[75]. "My hope is that this treatise will profit more readers in Latin than in German. It seems clear that we have reached the Jews, for they are called away from their Talmudic niggling by the Word of God and the clear meaning of Scripture in no different a manner than we are from Scotistic and Thomistic dreams. Indeed, there is no doubt that they, whose task it is to preserve the truth of the Scriptures of Moses and the Prophets, will be moved no little amount by these arguments. The Rabbis falsely claim (for their sole occupation

In his well-known German *Proverbs* of 1528/29[76], Johannes Agricola (1492-1566) addressed a pressing contemporary issue: the scholastics had debated a great deal whether a person might be saved by faith alone. "They say", he reports , "that Alexander the Great fell to his knees and earnestly begged God to bring the Caspian Mountains together and thus enclose the Red Jews; which happened. This was the origin of the fable that the Red Jews would appear with Enoch and Elijah before Doomsday. But no matter if the fable is true or not, [Alexander's faith cannot have saved him, because] it is certain that no faith brings salvation except faith in Christ Jesus, as Paul teaches".[77] This is not the story of the Red

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is to milk the common herd by proffering this sort of vain hope) that the scepter and the Jewish state have survived in Babylon, just as if lies in this matter could not be publicly disproved! Why not say that the kingdom of the Jews has been transferred to the cities on the moon? But we must pray for this people, especially since among ourselves not everyone is a Christian who bears the title of Christianity. I hope that this affair concerning the Jews will proceed so well that the rapid spread of the Word, in so short a time, will produce miraculous changes, and we will see yet again the wondrous works of God. Farewell in the Lord." See Appendix B, no. 31, for the Latin text.

[76]. *Drey hundert / Gemeyner Sprichworter, / der wir Deutschen uns ge=/ brauchen, und doch nicht / wissen woher sie kommen* (Hagenau, 1529), Wolfenbüttel P 1143.8° Helmst. (1a); the recent edition of Sander L. Gilman is reliable and handy: *Die Sprichwörtersammlung*, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1971).

[77]. "...Es ist bey den Schullerern hoch gehandelt / worden/ob eines yglichen menschen glau=/ be den menschen selig mache? Denn sie sa=/ gen/daß der Grosse Alexander auff seine / knie gefallen sey/und von Gott ernstlich ge=/ betten/Er

Jews *qua* Ten Tribes cobbled together by Victor, but the medieval German legend, complete with Alexander the Great, Enoch, Elijah and the Last Days. Agricola counted on his readers' response to well-known proverbs and popular wisdom to make his points. His audience would know who the Red Jews were, so he could refer to them in a teaching parable. The story was well-enough known for Agricola to call it a 'fable', to explain its origin and to suggest in an undertone that it was not to be believed.

When Luther commented in 1530 on Ezekiel 38 and 39, the standard and original *locus* for Gog and Magog,[7] he was

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wolte die Caspios montes lassen / zusammen gehen/und die roten Juden ver=/ schliessen/und es sey also geschehen/Daher auch / die fabel erwachsen ist von den roten Juden / welche mit Enoch und Helia vor dem iungsten / tage sollen herfur kommen/Es sey nu umb die / fabel wie es wil/so ist das starck/daß kein glaub / selig mache/denn an Christum Jesum/wie S. / Paul leret." Agricola, *Sprichworter*, 168v-169r, Proverb 272; Gilman, *Die Sprichwörtersammlung*, 218-219. See Appendix A, no. 17 for the German text and my English rendering.

[7]. "Es ist vorhin gnug angezeiget, wie Gog der Turcke sein herkommen hat aus den Tattern odder roten Juden, da der grosse Cam konig ist, wie die landferer sagen, welche ursprunglich den namen Magog haben, Gene. am zehenden. [...] Also heisst hie der heilige geist den Turcken nach seinem vaterland Magog, und aus zorn den Gog." in: 'Das XXXVIII. und XXXIX. Capitel Hesechiel vom Gog', *WA* 30/2.223-236; 224,9-12 and 21-22. "It has already been sufficiently proven that Gog the Turk is descended from the Tatars or Red Jews, where the Great Khan is king (as the vagabonds say), who [sc. the Tatars or Red Jews] originally were called Magog, as in the book of Genesis, chapter 10. [...] Therefore, the Holy Ghost calls the Turk 'Magog', after his country of origin, but 'Gog' is a short form used in anger."

certain that the prophecy concerning their disastrous arrival would soon be fulfilled. Indeed, he hoped it would, as did many others who saw in their own times nothing but the last days of a corrupt *saeculum*. He interpreted Gog and Magog to mean in contemporary times the Turks. He alleges that the Turks were descended from a people he calls the 'Tatars or Red Jews', who lived under the great Khan and were originally called Magog. Luther seems to have patched together a picture of this apocalyptic nation from the popular legend of the Red Jews, from medieval authors such as Matthew of Paris, who called the Tatars descendants of the Ten Tribes,[39] and perhaps even from early sixteenth-century maps, which placed Gog and Magog, the 'enclosed Jews' and the Tatar khans in the same general vicinity in the far north-eastern corner of Asia. Luther was particularly concerned to establish the apocalyptic credentials of the Turks.[40] He used the popular reputation of

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[39]. Cited by Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 70-71.

[40]. On Luther's view concerning the Turks as members of the cast in the final drama, see G. Vogler, *Luthers Geschichtsauffassung im Spiegel seines Türkenbildes*. 450 Jahre Reformation (Berlin 1976), esp. 118-127. See also Göllner, *Turcica* III, "Eschatologische Betrachtungen zur Konfrontation mit den Osmanen", 173-186; H. Buchanan, "Luther and the Turk 1519-1529", in: *ARG* 47, Heft 1 (1956), 144-160; G.W. Forrell, "Luther and the War against the Turks", in: *Church History* 14 (1945), 256-271. For a more broadly conceived view, see J.W. Bohnstedt, *The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 58/9 (Philadelphia, 1968), and Kenneth M. Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Doom* (Philadelphia: American

the Red Jews to do so. He did not believe that there were armies of Red Jews waiting to descend on Christendom, but that the Turks were at the door. He saw in them the descendants of the Red Jews 'who were originally called Magog'. Luther knew the old stories, and fitted pieces of them, like puzzle parts, into his own apocalyptic narrative, justifying his religious analysis of secular events by their relation to the eternal events of salvation history. Here, as elsewhere in Luther's statements concerning the Jews, he addresses his comments not so much to the 'Jewish question' or any such modern set of concerns, but toward the End, meaning not just devastation and damnation, but also conversion and salvation.[11] The presence of actual Jews in everyday life was not needed for this explosive and fundamentally antisemitic cocktail of political and religious analysis to be accepted and to function as rationale for discriminating against Jews. Indeed, the trend of expulsion, sanctioned by Luther in 1543,[12] fit well with

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Philosophical Society, 1992).

[11]. Cf. Oberman: "Es gibt zwar Judenschriften [by Luther], sie gehören aber mit den Türken-und Papstschriften zu der einen unauflösbaren Gattung der Endzeitprophetie." *Die Wurzeln des Antisemitismus. Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation* (Berlin, 1981), 155.

[12]. 'Von den Jüden und ihren Lügen', *WA* 53.417-552. For a case study of the relationship between the Reformation and the expulsion of the Jews from one German city, see Rotraud Ries, "Zum Zusammenhang von Reformation und Judenvertreibung: Das Beispiel Braunschweig", in: *Civitatum Communitas: Studien zum europäischen Städtewesen. Festschrift Heinz Stoob zum 65.*

the notion that the Jews are somehow allied with or related to the Turks. The relatively mild conditions enjoyed by Jews in the Ottoman empire and the exodus of Sephardic Jews to the cities of the Ottoman empire were important factors that served to establish links between the Jews and the Turks.[43]

Geburtstag, ed. Helmut Jäger, Franz Petri and Heinz Quirin (Cologne/Vienna, 1984), vol. II, 630-645.

[43]. Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York University Press: New York, 1991): "Most [Jewish refugees from Spain] followed the bulk of their Jewish brothers from the rest of Europe eastward through the lands bordering the Mediterreanean into the territory of the greatest Muslim power of the time, the empire of the Ottoman sultans..." (15); he estimates that after 1492, about 36,000 Spanish Jews settled in Istanbul alone (37). In 1530, there were about 17,000 Jews in Salonica, which had been depopulated after the Turkish take-over in 1430 (38). Jerusalem had sheltered only 76 Jewish households in 1488, due to the chaos attendant on the collapse of the Mamlûk empire; in 1525-26, there were 199 Jewish households, at which time there were 233 Jewish households in Safed (400). Shaw notes that Jews had traditionally welcomed the Turks as liberators, going so far as to help admit Turkish invaders to Constantinople in 1453; the local Jewish populations rejoiced at the Turkish capture of the island of Rhodes (1522), Buda and Pest (1526) and Belgrade (1526) (26-27). It is fruitless to speculate as to whether or not the exodus of Spanish refugees to the Ottoman empire was seen by Christians as a sign of the approaching end, given the belief that the Antichrist would gather the Jews at Jerusalem: at least my research has turned up no evidence that sixteenth-century Christians saw the expulsions in this light. See also Abraham David, "Safed, foyer de retour au judaïsme des conversos au XVIe siècle", in: *Revue d'études juives* 146/1-2 (France, 1987), 63-83. For a more specific look at the economic and political activities of Jews in the early modern Ottoman empire, see Mark Alan Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish Communities and their Role in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1980; =Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 56).

The scepticism of humanists and converted scholars was not sufficient to suppress this prophetic tale. Indeed, their explicit references to it, their re-arrangement or even rejection of it suggest that the legend of the Red Jews was well-known in early 16th-century Germany, and widely believed. It was a versatile story; it contained elements that meshed with both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic hopes and fears. The fit is exact: the Antichrist awaited by the Christians would be preceded and aided by the Red Jews;[44] the Jews proposed that the Messiah would be supported by the Ten Tribes -- from the German point of view, the frightening Red Jews.

5. Beyond the Reformation: The Turkish Threat through Red Lenses

Neither the refutations published by Victor von Carben and Antonius Margaritha, Agricola's concentrated opposition to the legend of the Red Jews nor Luther's reassignment of the Red Jews to a distant past expunged the theme from apocalyptic thinking about the world and current as well as final events. Even though a member of the circle around Luther took the trouble to dismiss the Red Jews[45] as a fable, and Luther dismissed the immediate threat they had been thought to pose

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[44]. As in the fifteenth-century *Antichrist* book.

[45]. Understood in the traditional, popular Christian sense, conflated with Gog and Magog as the peoples enclosed by Alexander.

for the last three hundred years by making them the ancestors of the immediately-threatening Turks, the theme lived on in popular notions about the East.

Another German pamphlet, published at the end of a decade of intermittent war between the Ottoman and Holy Roman Empires (as well as Ottoman conflicts with Persia), in 1562,[16] tells a similar story, but mentions only Red Jews.[17] All three versions of this pamphlet purport to have been printed in 'Constantinople', probably Nuremberg.[18] They concentrate on the threat posed to the Turks and their empire by a huge army of 'Red Jews' clearly identified in these pamphlets as descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel, who intend to take the Holy Land. The 1562 pamphlets, more so than the 1523 ones, tell a clear story about the exiled tribes and their return to

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[16]. A peace treaty was signed by Emperor Ferdinand I and Süleymân I on 1 July, 1562.

[17]. *Neuwe Zeitung,//Von dem grossen Heer//der roten Juden, so auß den Gebir=//gen, Caspii genant, in Asia//herfür kommen*, Constantinopel 1562, Zentralbibliothek Zürich 27.471a5. There is another copy at Greifswald according to Emil Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*. With a bibliography for the years 1505-1599 (=*BLVS*, 111), Tübingen, 1872, 173, nos. 253/4. According to A. Heyer, there was another version at Breslau (Wroclaw) in two copies, with a slightly different title: "Dritte Nachlese zu Weller's deutschen Zeitungen", in: *Fünftes Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekwesen*, ed. Dr. O. Hartwig, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1890-91), II, 9.

[18]. A comparison of contemporary typefaces suggests that ZB Zürich 27.471a5 was printed by Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber of Nuremberg. Many thanks to Mr. Ulrich Kopp of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

conquer Jerusalem as apocalyptic precursors of the Messiah -- though the author admits he does not understand this part at all![89] Again, current concerns about the Turks are fitted into a traditional, pre-existing apocalyptic framework, a part of the legend of the Red Jews, which is no longer entirely clear to the author of the 1562 pamphlets.[90]

Details concerning the aristocratic leaders, their troops, their martial equipment and lavish accoutrements (banners and standards with embroidered mottos, colorful silks and large regiments of cavalry) are in no way unusual or peculiar to this account. The good order, excellent equipment and large numbers of men under arms mirror western perceptions of Ottoman military might, especially the austere and

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[89]. See the German text and my English translation of these pamphlets in Appendix A, no. 19.

[90]. "And these Red Jews are said to be those concerning whom the Histories relate that Alexander the Great left behind him in the Caspian Mountains a new people of Jews, who had worshipped the [golden] calf and the snake, and since then stayed together in those mountains so closely that no-one has heard of them since, nor could anyone reach them, on account of the sand in the sea called the Sandy Sea. Their language is said to be bastard or corrupt Hebrew. The Jews have a prophecy, concerning which they say that the prophet Daniel speaks of the fourth part or corner of the world. This part will rise up, and the Messiah will come and rule the world, but what this is, I do not understand, yet their might is said to be appalling and unbelievable. The Turk is greatly threatened by them, as they are said not to have come to the Turkish border, but their intent is to go straight to the Holy Land, which they call the Promised Land, with the plan of refounding their kingdom, that is Jewry." See Appendix A, no. 19, fol. aiii^{v}, lines 2-25.

professional organization of the enormous Turkish armies.[91] Luther and his contemporaries saw the Turks as God's rod and scourge;[92] here they are merely players among others in international power-politics. Indeed, in the 1562 pamphlet, the Ottoman empire itself seems to be threatened by the awesome power of the Red Jews. The apocalyptic element has not disappeared: the Red Jews may have skilled artisans who can make fire fall from the heavens with fireworks, but the Jews of "Constantinople and elsewhere in this land" are said to be secretly delighted by the news that the Red Jews are marching to Jerusalem.[93] Jewish Messianic hopes (and Christian

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[91]. For example, Luther remarks "Des Türken Macht ist sehr groß, als der zwey Mal hundert tausend Kriegsvolk Jahr und Tag besolden und erhalten kann; muß aufs Wenigste dazu haben zwey tausend Mal tausend Gülden, jährlich. Das türkische Reich stehet auf lauter Kriegern; wir Deutsche aber sind zärtliche Märtyrer, vermögen nichts, sind mit vielen und mancherleyen Herrschaften beschweret". *WAT* 1.449,42-45. One reason for this is the position of the Sultan: "Er ist sehr mächtig, vermag viel Volks; ist ein wohlgeübter und versuchter Kriegsmann, sehr weise; sieget ob und überwindet mit künstlichen Anschlägen und Rath; verschonet seiner Leute; erhält sein Volk in Gunst und bey gutem Willen; zeucht unbedächtig nicht aus zu Felde noch schlägt, er sehe denn seinen Vortheil; er bricht den Feinden gemächlich ab, zauset und rupft sie einzeln." *WAT* 1.454,46 - 455,4.

[92]. Göllner, *Turcica* III, 176-186. One does not attempt to ward off God's just and well-deserved punishments.

[93]. "The Jews here in Constantinople and elsewhere in this land are secretly extremely pleased by this news. And although no-one else has been able to get to this people [the Red Jews], the Jews have always had secret relations with them." See Appendix A, no. 19, fol. aiii^{r}, lines 13-17.

knowledge of them) concerning the Ten Tribes can be assumed to be the background to this remark. 'The Turk' is threatened, though the Red Jews have not yet reached the Turkish borders, for they plan to go straight to Jerusalem and re-establish their kingdom there. Even imagining a (rather modern) reader who would not immediately associate such a kingdom with the advent of Antichrist, a powerful Jewish kingdom centered on Jerusalem would have meant a complete political and spiritual realignment in the Middle East and Europe.

This pamphlet was published during the height of the persecutions directed at Turcoman tribesmen of the heretical sect of the Kïzïlbaş, from 1558 to 1565.[34] The Kïzïlbaş Turcomans originally were concentrated in Anatolia and the Taurus mountains; their anti-establishment cult later spread to the Turcomans of the Balkans, especially the Yürük Turcomans between the Vize and the Danube and the Turcomans of eastern Bulgaria, southern Macedonia and Thessaly.[35] These nomads rejected Ottoman attempts to settle and tax them; their fervent adherence to dervish orders that professed a form of Islam modified by tribal customs and shamanistic beliefs was

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[34]. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 183.

[35]. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 194. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Kïzïlbas embraced a form of Shi'ite heresy oriented toward the ancestor of the Safavid dynasty, Safiyy al-Dïn of Ardabil (1252-1334), which helped propel them into the Persian orbit.

a further stumbling block to 'integration'. The name Kïzïlbaş means 'red heads', and refers to the red headgear they wore as a sign of their heterodoxy. They first rose against Ottoman agents in the highlands of western Anatolia in 1511.[46] It is conceivable that the venerable legend of the Red Jews and their concerted efforts to reach Jerusalem were conflated with reports of flesh-and-blood 'red-headed' enemies of the Turks, the Turcoman Kïzïlbaş of Asia Minor. However, I have discovered no further sources or evidence that would support this speculation.

In the normal course of events, the politics and wars of eastern Europe rarely intrude on the history written about the West. Only epochal phenomena, such as the cresting waves of the Barbarian, Mongol or Turkish invasions -- once they reach central or western Europe -- have overcome the introspective tendency of western historians. The Long War (1593-1606) was one of the most important conflicts pitting the Ottoman Empire against Christendom, especially as concerns Hungary, yet the important events that took place in Asia Minor have not captured the imagination of historians in the way the Ottoman victory at the Battle of Mohacs (1526) has done.

Tatar participation in eastern European power politics has rarely been noticed by western historians. Crimean Tatars

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[46]. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 32.

had been involved in Ottoman politics at least since the middle of the fifteenth century, when Ottoman expansion began to encroach on these descendants of the great Khans.[97] Tatar revolts against their new masters were not infrequent; they participated in the civil war of 1511, and a revolt was occasioned in 1584 by the replacement of their Khan with another more amenable to the Porte.[98] The Tatar general Gazi Giray (later Khan) provided important services to the Sultan during the Persian War (1578-1590), which left the Turks in control of the Caucasus.[99]

In the context of the Long War, the Tatars proved to be valuable allies of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish successes in Hungary in the summer of 1594 were followed by revolts in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. Gazi Giray had territorial ambitions in this area. The death of Sultan Murad III on January 16, 1595 led eventually to the replacement of his close friend Gazi Giray in 1596, by his successor Mehemmed III (1595-1603). However, the Tatars were to be central to Ottoman attempts to suppress the Balkan revolts in 1594-95. Gazi Giray returned to Crimea in early 1595 and remained there

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[97]. The Ottomans established suzerainty over the Crimean Tatars over the period 1475 to 1478. Carl Max Cortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism During the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus* (New York: New York University Press: 1972), 7-8.

[98]. Cortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, 85-90.

[99]. Cortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, 89-92.

until persuaded to help the hard-pressed Ottoman forces detailed to put down the revolt in the eastern Balkans. By spring of 1595, the Poles had heard that the Tatars and Ottomans were on the march again, and mobilized their forces. The Poles were not pleased by Habsburg influence in Transylvania, nor did they want to see the Danube principalities become Ottoman provinces. The Khan did not cross the Dnieper westwards until October. He then marched into Moldavia, up to the Polish lines, which were near the confluence of the Cecora and Prut rivers. After a brief sham battle, negotiators concluded an agreement on October 22, 1595.[100] From this confused and confusing time of thrust and counter-thrust, one of the first newspapers to be published on a regular basis recorded the Polish call to arms in aid of the Voivode and against the Turkish forces:

> "The Polish nobility is called to arms against the Tartars: On the last day of the month of May, a public announcment was made in Cracow with beating of drums, and the Polish nobility was called upon for the third time to take arms and march against the Tartars, who with an innumerable horde and horrible force wish to break out; they have with them 40,000 Turks or Red Jews."[101]

The Tatars (Tartars) are the reason for this call to arms; their army includes 'Turks or Red Jews'. Given Luther's

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[100]. Cortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, 142-145.

[101]. Konrad Memmius, *Calendarii Historici //Relatio*, for June of 1595; printed at Walstatt, 1595. See Appendix A, no. 20.

conflation of the Tatars with Red Jews, this is not an unprecedented identification, but it is not usual, either. This description is reminiscent of the 500 Red Jews said to be in the army of the Dauphin at Montbéliard in the previous century: the term may refer to any savage people, or simply to the Tatars themselves. The term 'Red Jews might conceivably have referred, in this context, to the Kïzïlbaş, but they were unlikely members of a Tatar force aligned with the Turks. The medieval term seems to have been used more for its shock value than as a precise description of a certain people: the author is not even sure whether they are Turks or Red Jews. The epithet may then be understood as a kind of fossil, its original intent unknown or just barely perceived, its potential uses manifold and shifting according to the perspective of the observer.

In 1596, another set of 'Red Jews pamphlets' appeared in the midst of this protracted conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the West. These pamphlets are derived from those of 1562; in fact, they are reproductions or re-editions made for different circumstances, namely the latest war. Here, the Red Jews attack the Turks from the East, to aid Christendom. There are two versions of the 1596 pamphlet.[102]

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[102]. "Zwo warhafftige newe Zeittung, Die Erste, Aus Venedig, dis 1596. Jars ... Wie drey Legion rothe Juden, auß dem Gebirg Caspis; hinder dem rothen Meer, jetzundt gerüst herfür kommen, Welche Keyser Alexander Magnus hinder sich im

The details of the Three Legions pamphlet[103] are a further and independent development of the 1562 pamphlets. The Red Jews are a people among others, no savage or bloodthirsty cannibals. They are well-armed and protected by sturdy leather armor. Their silken banners and 'Japanese' (*Joponisch*) accoutrements convey the fragrance of the exotic east, not the stench of unclean barbarians. Moreover, their campaign is not an all-out war of destruction, but a chivalrous (*ritterlich*) undertaking to drive the Turk from their fatherland.[104]

Gebirg verschlossen gelassen hat ... In gesang weiß gestellet... Die ander Zeittung. Wie ... der grosse Fürst auß Siebenbürgen ein ... Schlacht ... gethan ... Geschehen diß 96. Jahr." At the end: "Gedruckt zu Wien in Oesterreich bey Leonhart Nassinger." Cited by Emil Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, no. 825 (350); hereafter the 'Three Legions pamphlet'. The other version from this year is Weller's no. 824: "Zwo warhaffte wunder seltzame neuwe Zeitung. Die Erste: Wie hundert mal tausend, vnd sechs vnd neuntzig tausent Juden ... vom Berg Caspin, dem Türcken in das Landt gefallen ... auß Venedig, Rom, Constantinopel, im Julio vnd Augusto deß 96. Jars warhafftig geschrieben, Liederweiß gestellet ... Die Ander: Von einer ... Mörder Geschicht ... Gedruckt zu Lindaw am Bodensee, bey Hans Ludwig Brem."; hereafter the '196,000 Jews pamphlet'.

Both versions were in the Royal Library at Berlin, and were very probably destroyed or lost during the second World War, but their texts have been preserved, by a lucky chance, in a privately published booklet from the turn of the century: Heinrich Loewe, *Zur Kunde der Juden im Kaukasus*. See my transcriptions and translations in Appendix A, nos. 21 a and b.

[103]. I.e., Weller 825.

[104]. "Listen now you Christians, young, poor or rich, I will sing to you of God's great miracles, that came to pass recently. When we reckoned the year 1596, an honest merchant came from across the Red Sea to Venice, and told the city council this tale. He brought wondrous news of Red Jews beyond

Alexander the Great appears once again in this account: the Red Jews are still said to have been enclosed by him in the Caspian Mountains. In fact, this people is not altogether domesticated; they have wild beasts with them and are quite dangerous to the world at large. "God (alone) knows what this expedition means. Few Christians know about these Red Jews who come from behind the Red Sea, and pose a great threat to the Turks." The clear danger is to the Turks: the Red Jews are God's scourge to humiliate the enemies of Christendom. Yet the fear born of ignorance is still strong, and the author prays for deliverance 'just in case'.[105]

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the sea, who were enclosed long ago in the Caspian Mountains, and who intend to take up arms for a bitter battle. They have armed themselves and have marched in all their might against the Turk, across the Caspian Mountains. Hear now what I sing you, for it is true, no trumped-up tale. The Jews and their bold troops marched over the mountains arrayed in all their might, to take a stand in chivalrous fashion. They wanted to drive the Turks out of the Jewish lands with all their might. Emperor Alexander the Great enclosed these Jews in the mountains. They have multiplied greatly. They are three legions in total, as you have already heard." See Appendix A, no. 21a, page 2, line 3 - page 3, line 2.

[105]. "They have panthers with them and pose a serious danger to everyone. God (alone) knows what this expedition means. Few Christians know about these Red Jews who come from behind the Red Sea, and pose a great threat to the Turks. May God resist the Turks, and humiliate them by means of the Red Jews. Therefore, dear Christians, ask God for his mercy, that he may yet prolong our lives. And you Christians all ask diligently for his grace, that he always mercifully avert the [just] punishment, so that we can come to a blessed end after surviving these trying times." See Appendix A, no. 21a, page 4, lines 1-12. On the translation 'may God resist the Turks' see chapter I.

The other 1596 version, the 196,000 Jews pamphlet,[106] also goes beyond the message of the 1562 pamphlets. However, it is quite different from the Three Legions edition. Here, the Red Jews reject Turkish demands for tribute, slaughter the Turkish bag-men, then set out to conquer the Holy Land.[107] The Jewish armies are enormous: the main host consists of 900,000 men, an inflated variant of the usual Biblical figure of 600,000. They are well-equipped and armed, protected by leather cuirasses, and backed by tens of thousands of horsemen and crossbowmen. The slogan on the banner of the war-leader of Issachar, the 'Count of Altz', suggests that the Red Jews have allied themselves with the Christians against the Turks.[108] Confused echoes of the 1562 pamphlets and the Three Legions

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[106]. I.e., Weller 824.

[107]. "He [the Sultan] sent his legates swiftly to the wild mountains of Caspin, to order the Jews there to pay their tax quickly, so that the good Great Turk could vent his spleen and cool his raging heart with innocent Christian blood. When these legates had said their piece, the Jews surrounded them and stabbed them all, to a man, and on the strength of this deed took a firm decision to conquer the Promised Land, and to attack [their enemies] heartily and in a lively fashion. 'Lerman, Lerman' they sang, all through the land. The Jews jumped for joy, they were wild and crazy with joy. They all of them wanted to be the cock of the walk and grab their future happiness, promised to them since the world began." See Appendix A, no. 21b, page 2, lines 18-29.

[108]. "On his banner, worked finely in gold, shine forth the words: I risk everything on the occasion, it must be attempted. Straight off I'll bind the Turkish dog with my chains; from now on will I happily ally myself with the Christians." See Appendix A, no. 21b, page 3, lines 23-28.

pamphlet can be discerned; but most noteworthy are the suggestion of alliance with the Christians and the claim that a siege army of Jews has surrounded Constantinople and is attacking the Turks daily, and plans to conquer the Promised Land next! "God alone knows the meaning of his miracles and this great campaign"; all that is clear is that the Jews are there to punish the Turks. However, the author suggests that the Jewish campaign is part of the final process by which all Jews and Muslims will be converted to Christ, before the Last Days, as Scripture foretells.[109] The Red Jews have ceased to be apocalyptic destroyers; they are an aggrieved party that fights back and plays politics, making an alliance with the Christians against the present enemy, even as it plays its divinely-appointed role -- one that threatens not the 'good

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[109]. "Is it not a great wonder (o pious Christian, take note) that the Jews have now arrayed around Constantinople a large host of Jews who attack the Turks daily, and wish to conquer the Promised Land next? They brought a great surplus with them on campaign, so that they should lack for nothing. Their marvelous land is exceedingly rich in all varieties of foodstuffs. They cast into that fortress fire-works that burn for four hours. It is also written that the wild Red Sea stood still for a month, until their entire army had passed through it. Take note of God's power from this instance. He alone knows what this deed signifies. Christ and the prophets announced to us long ago that the Mohammedan[s] and the Jewish rabble will take on the Christian faith entirely, and there will be one shepherd and one sheepfold. Scripture tells clearly about the Last Day [Doomsday]. O Jesus, dear Lord, break the might of the Turks, increase the Christian faith, convert the Jews, give peace and good accord, save us from all suffering. Your name alone is holy, on earth as in heaven for ever and ever. Amen." See Appendix A, no. 21b, page 4, lines 3-28.

Christians' but the 'evil Turks'.

News of war in the east very clearly was the occasion for these popular musical reworkings of a very old interpretive schema. The apocalyptic and antisemitic currents of the late medieval tradition are submerged here; the Red Jews are allies of Christendom. It would seem that these Red Jews, at least, are not Tatars: in 1596, the Tatar forces of Gazi Giray marched southwest once more to attack the Polish client Jeremia Movile, voivode of Moldavia; the brother of Gazi Giray, the Kalgay Feth Giray, played an important role in the battle of Mezö Kerésztés. In both cases, the Tatars were fighting on the Ottoman side.[10] Yet there is considerable room for confusion in these matters. The Red Jews of the 1596 pamphlets might well represent the Tatars; certainty is impossible.

Between the late Middle Ages and subsequent eras there was, in regard to the popular legend of the Red Jews, a certain continuity, as well as a distinct gap. The author of the 1562 pamphlets betrays both his incomprehension and his dependence on tradition or authority in reproducing the details of a fading legend. As in 1523, the concrete reality of the Turkish menace is addressed. The Red Jews are an

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[10]. Cortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, 148-149. The Tatars, meanwhile, attempted in late 1596 to replace the rebellious voivode of Wallachia, Michael, with Simeon Movile, brother of Jeremia and a Polish client: 149 and 157, note 91.

immediate threat not to Christendom, but to the Turks, from whom they want the Holy Land. The 1596 pamphlets are based to a large extent on those of 1562. In the later pamphlets, the medieval tradition has receded, and the Red Jews are put to very different uses. The occasion for the pamphlets is clear and immediate. The 1596 version of the tale probably resulted more from wishful thinking than from actual knowledge of the situation in Asia Minor. In 1596, the Red Jews are identified as the peoples enclosed by Alexander (unlike the 1523 and 1562 pamphlets, where this detail was not included). This identification establishes a clear link with the medieval tradition, even though its most important antisemitic and apocalyptic elements have disappeared. A reference to the Red Sea, missing in all previous mentions of the Red Jews, appears in the Three Legions pamphlet -- perhaps to help explain the term red, which seems to have been familiar but not understood. By 1596, the remnants of the medieval legend were reaching a very broad audience, as shown by the context in which the Red Jews appear in 1596: the tale is set to music, rhymed, printed with a battle report in one version, and with a story about a murder in the other. The Red Jews pose no immediate threat to Christendom in these pamphlets. Apocalyptic overtones are no longer overt, or even, perhaps, intended: the Red Jews attack the Turks, with whom the Christian West was at war. It would seem that as this material

percolated down to the broadest levels of society in rhyming newsballads, it remained 'good to think with', even as it came unstuck from the traditional mentalities and theological underpinnings (both learned and popular) in which it originally flourished, took on very different meanings that seem not to have lasted in the popular imagination, and gradually disappeared from view. The Red Jews may not have made much sense to pamphleteers who confess that only God knows the meaning of their march, but these exotic figures of medieval legend still were being used to make sense of events in the East: though these events were on the surface unheard-of and incomprehensible, they could nonetheless be rendered familiar in the typological terms of salvation history as the beginning of the End.

To insist on similarities, the 1523, 1562 and 1596 pamphlets agree in associating the Red Jews with the Ten Tribes. Until at least 1596, the myth of the Red Jews was a powerful factor in German-language pamphlet propaganda aimed at a wide audience. These pamphlets were not written in a cultural vacuum. Indeed, they can be understood only when placed in relation to: the fast-receding background of middle High German literature and biblical exegesis; medieval Latin works of theology and chronicles; ancient Jewish tradition; and the historical context in which each set of pamphlets was produced.

If we ask why the Red Jews survived so long into the sixteenth century, we must also be prepared to answer why they disappeared. The decades between Luther's relegation of the Red Jews to ancient history and the 1596 pamphlets brought tremendous changes. The disbelief expressed by Agricola and Luther's historicizing incorporation into his apocalyptic vision of a popular legend could not suppress or relativize the legend of the Red Jews, but they were the thin edge of the debunking wedge. As Robin Barnes has demonstrated in his ground-breaking study of apocalypticism after the Lutheran Reformation, prophetic hopes and the calculation of the approaching End Time that had been so central a part of the medieval understanding of the world and time -- and which were based on an authentic yearning for the resolution of all uncertainty, danger and fear -- gradually disappeared in the early seventeenth century. The Thirty Years' War, which brought about not the long-awaited cosmic changes, but devastation and a long uphill struggle for the survivors, put an end to this simultaneously hopeful and fearful tradition of religious futurology.[11] While the Red Jews 'descended' into

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[11]. "The prophetic dreams and reckonings of the time were already beginning to discredit themselves in the early seventeenth century. But the process was greatly hastened by the Thirty Years' War; that holocaust did much to end the last great age of apocalyptic hope in Germany." Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis. Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 265.

popular rhyming news-sheets,[112] the Biblical story of Gog and Magog grabbed center stage once again, partly as a result of Luther's interpretation of the Turks as the final destroyers. The Ten Tribes -- the existence of which at least could be deduced from the Bible -- continued to fascinate Christendom.[113] The Red Jews are not mentioned in the Bible;

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[112]. Barnes has suggested that the shared 'apocalyptic world-view' of all classes of urban society in the sixteenth century "may actually have been a unifying force in German town life, forming a bridge between popular culture and the world of the learned. Judging from the pervasiveness of apocalyptic hopes, fears, and expectations, learned and popular culture may not have been as separate as we are sometimes led to believe." Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis*, 264. The evidence adduced in this study tends to suggest that this portrait of a shared 'apocalyptic world-view' is too simplistic; there were significant differences in the content of apocalyptic beliefs, no matter how widespread apocalyptic belief was; these differences correspond to the clear divide, on the question of the Red Jews, between learned and popular views that was foreshadowed by Victor von Carben, confirmed explicitly by Agricola and implicitly by the sixteenth century pamphlets, and stated forcefully once again at the beginning of the seventeenth century; see below, this chapter.

[113]. See, for example, the *Historia von der Geburt // Leben/Sitten/Kühnheit/Tu- // genden ... Alexanders (des Groß genannt) Königs in Macedonien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1573), with a "Vorred Doctor Hartliebs von München" and "Prologus Eusebii" (Wolfenbüttel T 465.8° Helmst.), in which Alexander encounters the 'Ten Tribes of the Captivity' when he reaches the Caspian Mountains; he decides to enclose and lock them up 'better' than they were. One reads, the author notes, that the Antichrist will lead them out of their prison at the end of time, to do great damage to all of Christendom (fol. Lii^{r}, 5-15 and Lii^{v}). In the same work, Alexander's journey to India begins with the words "König Alexander zeucht mit seinem Heer in Rot Indien" (fol. Dd vii^{v}, line 3); in lines 5-8 we read "Wir kamen mit all unserm Heer unnd Volck zu dem grossen hohen Gebirg das man nennt Portas Caspias, das ist, der Roten Indien Land, daselbst fand ich das übervollest Land an aller

the term was traditional but had become, by 1562 at the latest, both mysterious and exotic to Germans. The exotic is by definition not unknown, only known insufficiently for it to be familiar. We are used, after five centuries of 'discovery', to the process by which the exotic becomes familiar; the

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gnugsame, daß ich mich inniglichen daran verwundert." The author seems to have confused the Red Jews (*Rote Juden/Iuden*) who are traditionally believed to live behind the 'Portas Caspias' with Indians, who then are called Red Indians (*Rote Indien*), a mistake that typography rather suggests. European perceptions of the bronze-red skin color of American native peoples may also have played a part, via a failure to distinguish between the east and west Indies. This type of confusion would not be unique in this work, in which Jews are read into other portions where tradition does not place them: e.g., the army of the Persian king Darius is said, for the first time in the millenial history of the Alexander story, to contain Jews (fol. M viii^{r-v}); even after receiving reinforcements from 'Porrus', the king of India, Darius' army, now 600,000 strong, attacks Alexander, but "das halff alles klein, dann es kamen alle tag andere an die statt, dann die Juden wußten nicht die krafft, kunst und sig der Griechen" (fol. N vi^{v}-N vii^{r}); furhtermore, "Die Juden begerten den Schatz Alexanders zuverdienen" (*ibid.*, line 11); the Greeks "erstachen der Juden unnd Persen so viel, daß sie vor den Todten nicht mochten fürbaß kommen (*ibid.*, lines 19-20); the Greeks "gewannen das köstlich Baner der Juden, das ward auch erstritten mit nöten." (*ibid.*, lines 25-27). It seems to me that these martial Jews are none other than a faded echo of the Red Jews, since Jews had never before been mentioned as members of any army other than that of the Ten Tribes. The author would, in this case, have folded the German tradition of the Red Jews into the Alexander story. His version of the latter would have been one of those that retained the older, Comestorine designation 'Ten Tribes' for 'Gog-and-Magog-enclosed by Alexander'; the attribute 'red' made no particular sense to him, so it bled off into the typographically-close term for 'Indians'; the Biblical number 600,000 and the war-like characteristics of the Red Jews found employment in the army not of the Antichrist, but of Alexander's Persian enemy Darius.

opposite process, with its undercurrent of what we might be tempted to see as decay, seems unlikely to us. Of course, the Red Jews, had always been an 'exotic' (as well as threatening) people. They became more so as they disappeared from mainstream culture as mediated by mainstream printing. To their heightened exoticism was added, in the later sixteenth century, the aura of mystery that shrouds beliefs that have slipped into partial oblivion: the modern fascination with vampires, ghosts and demons (or the 'paranormal') is an example of the numinous cloud that can attend half-understood remnants of beliefs that had once been 'common knowledge'.

Perhaps the expulsion of the Jews from western Europe and much of central Europe helped to defuse this established antisemitic and apocalyptic vision of the Jews: yet antisemitism has rarely suffered from the absence of its object -- indeed, it often has become more vicious in the absence of Jews or of knowledge about them. Rather, the decline in intensity and scope of apocalyptic belief, and thus the uncoupling of the Jews from German visions of the end, can be ascribed to the failure of the much-prophesied End to materialize, despite the most urgent warnings, the perception -- in the midst of the interminable and bloody Wars of Religion -- that the world had never been more in need of God's fundamental *reformatio*, and the large number of seeming 'opportunities' (large-scale wars and the ensuing destruction

of all existing order) for the final reckoning. The continued existence of a patently wicked world, a more cynical, pragmatic approach to political events, even the apparent defencelessness and expulsions of European Jewry may all have played a part in the dissipation of this powerful medieval legend. Tradition was no match, ultimately, for the combined forces of Biblical learning, skeptical analysis, and the oblivion produced by the passing of time.

Before they disappeared altogether from Christian Germany, the Red Jews would put in two more appearances, in 1607 and 1608. They are depicted as the objects of a superstitious fable:

> "Many Jews believe that the Ten Tribes, whom the king Salmanassar led away, are still together, and live behind the dark mountains called the Caspian Mountains. [...] Many Christians also talk a great deal about the Red Jews, whom they have never seen, whence comes the wrong-headed notion that the Messiah might still be born from the tribe of Judah, from the Red Jews."[114]

'Many Christians' still believed in the existence of the apocalyptic Red Jews. The learned author (another Jewish

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[114]. *Der Jüden Thalmud*, by Christian Gerson of Recklingshausen (a Jewish convert to Christianity), (Goslar, 1607; Wolfenbüttel Gv 676), esp. part II, 390-398: "Etliche Juden meinen zwar, und glauben, die Zehen Stemme, welche der koʿnig Salmanesser hinweg gefuʿret hat, sein noch beyeinander, und wonen hinter dem finsteren Gebirge, Montes Caspos [sic] genandt ... Etliche Christen wissen auch viel von Rothen Juden, welche sie doch nicht gesehen haben, zu reden, dahero dann der falsche Wahn geschöpffet wird, es könne der Messias noch wol aus dem Stamm Juda, von den Rothen Juden, gebohren werden." (391).

convert to Christianity) claims that such beliefs are just as baseless as Jewish belief in the continued existence of the Ten Tribes, which he distinguishes clearly from the Christian legend of the Red Jews -- a legend that was still popular in his time, he claims. The divide between learned and popular culture on the question of the Red Jews, which was foreshadowed by Victor von Carben and confirmed by Agricola, is by this time complete and incontrovertible: only Jews and many 'wrong-headed' Christians believe apocalyptic (messianic) stories concerning the Red Jews.

In 1608, a bizarre alchemical text reports on Red Jews, who had been enclosed by Alexander the Great, in the Caspian Mountains. These Jews eat nothing but the best variety of gold, and therefore their sweat is most valuable. The purport of this text is that if one washes and scrubs these Jews, especially the fattest of them, with sufficient vigor, using the right chemical mixtures (*Aqua Colaturae Sanguinis Nobilissimi Animalis* is a satirical name for such a foul compound) and then filters the bathwater, particles of gold will be left over. These can then be taken to a goldsmith.[15]

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[15]. The *Rosarium novum olympicum et benedictum, Das ist: Ein newer Gebenedeyter Philosophischer Rosengart*, ed. Benedictus Figulus, Basel 1608, part I, tractate 4, "Consistens Aliquot Arcana, Phil. Theophrasti Paracelsi, de Lapide Philosophorum", p. 30f., cited by Joachim Telle in "Was ist ein 'roter Jude'? Bemerkungen zu einem pseudo-paracelsischen Arkantext bei Benedictus Figulus", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Pharmazie* 28/1 (1976), 5-8. Telle

This is a satirical jibe at the foolishness of alchemists, using the by-now discredited, 'superstitious' story of the Red Jews to make the pasquille really hilarious: the suggestion is that those who believe in alchemical theories and methods are just as credulous and blind as the dolts who believe in the Red Jews.[116] The image of especially fat Jews 'sweating gold'

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reproduces the text on page 5, columns a and b. I am indebted to Joseph Dallett for this reference.

[116]. Telle is not acquainted with the medieval and early modern tradition of the Red Jews (he knows only the 1562 pamphlet), and is therefore tempted to judge that this text is not a satire, largely because when it was printed in 1608 and reprinted in 1706, it appeared in the company of alchemical texts that were without a doubt serious works ("Was ist ein "roter Jude"?", 6. He displays all the earnest willingness to take texts at face value that can get even the best scholars into trouble. He dismisses without just cause the persuasive arguments of a series of scholars that this text is nothing but a joke or a satire: Hermann Kopp says the author was guilty of 'unseemly derision' ("unziemlicher Spott"; *Die Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit*. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte, Heidelberg 1886, reprint Hildesheim/New York, 1971, 237); Karl Sudhoff called the text an 'alchemical satire' ("alchemistisches Schelmenstück"; *Bibliographia Paracelsica*. Besprechung der unter *Hohenheims* Namen 1527-1893 erschienenen Druckschriften [Berlin 1904, reprint Graz, 1958]; Nr. 283, 484). Hermann Schelenz emphasized the 'rough humor' ("derber Witz") accompanying the 'nonsense of making gold out of organic material' ("der Unsinn [...] der Darstellung des Goldes aus tierischen Stoffen"; *Geschichte der Pharmazie*, [Berlin 1904, reprint Hildesheim 1965], 248). Herwig Buntz called it a parody, a satirical text, in which 'disappointed adepts' 'gave vent to their anger and frustration' ("enttäuschte Adepten" wollten ihrem "Ärger Luft machen"; "Deutsche alchimistische Traktate des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts" [Ph.D. dissertation, Munich 1968], 66 and "Die europäische Alchemie vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, in: Emil Ernst Ploss *et al.*, *Alchimia. Ideologie und Technologie* [Munich 1970], 198).

when treated roughly[117] is a savagely humorous reference to an age-old method of extracting money from Jews,[118] the most vulnerable of the very few medieval Europeans who had access to actual cash, however small the amounts. The message is that you would get richer looking for the fabled Red Jews in the Caspian Mountains than you will by practising alchemy.

After this time, the legend of the Red Jews and their

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[117]. "Nimb von den Juden die allerfeistesten und dicksten, so viel du wilt, nemblich ein hundert oder zwey. Dann hundert Juden geben dir vier loth Goldt auff einmahl. Führe diese Juden in ein warmes Badt, welches genannt wirdt das trucken Wasser, dasselbig ligt außwendig dem Gebürg, und wäsch dieselben Juden wol mit diesem Wasser, und reib ihnen die Haut, das sie weiß wirdt. Danach mach ein warm Wasser in einem dreyeckichten Gefäß, biß es begint zu rauchen, dann ist das Wasser warm genug, dann laß die Juden darein gehen, und laß daselbst in stehen ein Ave Maria lang, darnach geuß das Badtwasser mit den Juden auß, in ein andere schlecht Bütten, und krauwe sie mit den Händen oder Pürsten, biß sie wol weiß werden, und der Schweiß soll wol durch dasselbig Wasser außgezogen werden, und abgewäschen...": from Telle, "Was ist ein "roter Jude"?", 5, a and b.

[118]. One of the most famous examples is Philip Augustus' expulsion of the Jews in the early fourteenth century. According to John Baldwin, "Philip's despoiling of the Jews at the opening of his reign was, however, an extraordinary measure that realized massive gains in ransoms (31,500 *livres*), expropriation of debts [20% of book value to Crown], and confiscation of [the Jews' landed] property. In all likelihood, his Jewish policy was the expedient for financing the political program of the first decade [of his ambitious and belligerent foreign policy]." *The Government of Philip Augustus*. Foundations of French Power in the Middle Ages (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 55. See Andrew Gow and Gordon Griffiths, "Pope Eugenius IV and Jewish Money-Lending in Florence: the case of Salomone di Bonaventura during the chancellorship of Leonardo Bruni", in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, 1994 (in press) for a detailed study of the same process on a smaller scale, involving the expropriation of the assets of a single Jewish banking family.

name disappear completely from the German sources; there is no reason to think that belief in the Red Jews lasted beyond the fundamental dislocations of the Thirty Years War. There was no need of Jewish destroyers from the exotic east when fellow-Christians from the next county or the next country seemed all too willing to play the dreaded role.

In the seventeenth century, especially as the portentiously-numbered year 1666 approached, the apocalyptic specter of the Ten Tribes and of Gog and Magog appeared in numerous polemical works aimed at shocking a sinful Germany into repentance before it was too late.[119] The Red Jews were

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[119]. See, for example, the *Letzte (Tu'rcken) Posaum u'ber Deutschland, Die in verdammliche Sicherheit versunckene Welt vo Su'nden-Schlaff auffzuwecken* (Regensburg 1664; reprinted 1683; Wolfenbüttel Da 605 (25)): "Daß durch die Berge Israelis, darauff Gog und Magog, das ist, der Tu'rcke, nach des Herrn Luther, und anderer Gottseliger Außleger und reinen Theologorum Meinung, kommen und schrecklichen rumoren werde Ezech. c. 38, v. 8, nebenst andern Christlichen Provincien sonderlich auch Teutschland verstanden werde, ist kein zweifel." (9, lines 1-4); "Weil die Berge Israelis sind die wahre Kirche, und also vornehmlich Teutschland, da das reine Evangelium fur andern lauter und rein geprediget wird..." (9, 8-10); "Also werden auch der Tu'rcke unser Gog in den letzten Jahren, umb das Ende der Welt, mit seinem so wol Mitta'gisch, in lateribus Aquilonis liegenden Asiatischen, als Mitterna'chtischen Tartarischen, Scythischen, gegen Mitternacht liegenden Vo'lckern auf die Werthe, durch die Berge Israel bedeutete Christenheit ansetzen, und seine Wu'terey wieder die Kirche veru'ben..." (9, lines 22-25). Similar books feature the Ten Tribes: e.g., the *Ju'discher Heer-Zug, Das ist: Einfa'ltige Ju'den-Predigt, Darinnen gehandelt wird, ob die zehen Stämme Israelis das gelobte Land wieder ko'nnen besitzen und behaupten*, by Johann Rephun, pastor in Thurnau (Bayreuth 1666; Wolfenbüttel 317.63. Th (5)); or the *Israelita Revertens Armatus, // verus ne an*

no longer germane to these prophecies, which grew out of a Biblical piety that looked for the End,[120] but was no longer a part of the medieval apocalyptic tradition that produced the Red Jews.

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fictus? // Kurtzer, doch gru͛ndlicher // Bericht // von den zehen Sta͛mmen Israel, // die von Salmanasser, dem Ko͛nigen As- // syrien, gefangen weggefu͛hret worden, // 2. Reg. 17. // Wo solche hinkommen? Ob sie noch vorhanden, // widerkommen, das gelobte Land einnehmen, und das // Israelitische Königreich wider anrichten ko͛nnen? ... Von // Einem Liebhaber der Wahrheit // hervor gegeben // Im Jahr 1666 (Wolfenbüttel 317.63 Th. (13), title page).

[120]. As Barnes points out, "For Lutherans, of course, all prophetic truth was biblical. Whatever one learned about the deepest truths of nature and history could be expected to complement, if not to confirm, biblical truth." *Prophecy and Gnosis*, 263.

VII: CONCLUSIONS AND EPILOGUE

1. Conclusions

For over three hundred years, the Red Jews served as a catch-basin and amplifier for prejudices about Jews and fears about the destruction to come at the end of time. They gradually ceased, over the course of the sixteenth century, to perform that function. They are a fragment of submerged 'medievalia', of a vanished world-view or mentality that was capable of what may seem to us bizarre combinations, but which were perceived by many German Christians, from the late thirteenth to the late sixteenth century as a real and immediate threat.

That modern historians no longer recognize the term 'Red Jews' is significant: this gap in our knowledge grows out of a larger denial of cultural continuities between the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. These continuities escape us precisely because we imagine ourselves to be far removed from the Middle Ages, and because students of the Reformation -- until recently the undisputed leaders in the field of sixteenth-century history -- have tended to look, under the influence both of Burckhardt and of Protestant triumphalism, for the 'modern', i.e., familiar (and therefore mostly 'new') elements in the Reformation, rather than to dig for connections with the medieval past.

Research into the late-medieval origins of the

Reformation has concentrated on learned texts and traditions. As Heiko A. Oberman has shown, Luther's writings on the Jews belong with those on the Turks and the Papacy to 'a single indissoluble genre of apocalyptic prophecy'. To Luther and his contemporaries, the End Time would be ushered in by the fury of Gog and Magog, prophesied by Ezekiel and confirmed in Revelations. This was neither a popular fiction nor the private fantasy of a university professor in Wittenberg. There can be no doubt: there is no dividing line here. Drawing on the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, Flavius Josephus, Petrus Comestor, and a widespread vernacular literature, both learned doctors of Scripture and the unlettered looked for the arrival of Gog and Magog as a sign that the Biblical prophecies were about to be fulfilled.[1]

Yet there are different levels in this apocalytpic discourse. Where Luther looked for Gog and Magog, as a well-trained biblical scholar might well do, the common people, including the intermediate figure Michael Kramer, also looked for and were fed stories about the Red Jews. In fact, the sixteenth-century pamphlets studied here do not refer directly

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. *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus,* 53-54. Whatever they were called, the apocalyptic peoples would not only bring war and destruction to Christendom, as God's just punishment for sin, they would also herald the long-awaited end of what many medieval thinkers regarded as the final and most corrupt age of the world. On the other side of the final tribulation waited the kingdom of God.

to Gog and Magog at all: the Red Jews carry their own weight. Oberman's analysis addresses popular ideas in the context of the learned and more precisely Biblical apocalyptic expectations of Reformation theology. The sources adduced here allow us to distinguish between these ideas with a view to examining the filtering process by which a Biblical story became a popular legend. Agricola's critique and Luther's historicizing of the Red Jews allow us to conclude that the medieval legend had, by the early sixteenth century, lost its credibility among the educated. It had become a popular story that evoked learned disapproval or prevarication, but continued for some time to generate popular pamphlets that reflected a deeper, widespread belief in the threatened apocalyptic jail-break.

It might be objected that the Red Jews story was just a popular version of the Biblical prophetic tales familiar to learned readers. Yet the tradition of the Red Jews not only drew from very different roots, it also was based on multiple sources. The Red Jews, therefore, were a 'version' of the Biblical Ten Tribes, but also a 'version' of Gog and Magog, and indeed of the foul, cannibalistic peoples in the early Alexander story -- a conflation. The combined religious authority of the Gog and Magog prophecies and the historical authority of the widely-read Alexander story created an explosive mix. The 'Ten Tribes enclosed by Alexander', which

Anderson showed to be the more common European variety of this legend, did not pack the same apocalyptic punch; it did not create so vast, so long-lasting and so genuinely popular a vernacular textual tradition as the legend of the Red Jews did in the German-speaking world. The Ten Tribes would have to wait for the next great surge of apocalyptic expectation, in the years leading up to 1666, when the co-ordinates had changed -- the Bible was now universally available in the vernacular tongues, and the use of Latin had declined dramatically -- for a proper vogue in vernacular apocalyptic.

The unusual and symbolic name 'Red Jews' guaranteed their story would continue to be told long after educated European Christians ceased believing that the 'red peril' would devastate Christendom at the end of time. The name itself seems to have contributed to the longevity, among the common people, of the legend it expressed. Furthermore, in the sixteenth century, the Red Jews fulfilled functions with which the Ten Tribes were not associated: the Ten Tribes never were invoked to explain or counter the advances of Turkish might. Aside from the posturing of David Reubeni, there never was any rumor of an alliance between the Ten Tribes and Christendom, as there was between the Red Jews and the Christian world in 1596. The medieval legend of the Red Jews faded away, partly because this non-Biblical people was re-integrated or re-amalgamated with one of its sources, the Jewish legend of the

Ten Tribes: Victor and Antonius played an important role in rejoining the already odd-sounding Red Jews to the Biblical Ten Tribes. Gog and Magog were, of course, identified with the Turks by Luther and many others before and after him, especially since the fall of Constantinople (1453). That Luther admitted the Turks to be descended from the 'Tattars', who were in turn descendants of the Red Jews, is a tip of the hat in the direction of the medieval legend and of popular belief in his own time. It is characteristic of his critical and practical attitude toward Biblical exegesis: the plain meaning of Scripture, to Luther, concerns things that can be grasped, that are immediate to our senses. The Turks, who were physically near and obviously real, fulfilled this requirement much better than did the fantastical Red Jews, whom no-one had ever seen. Luther's new and to some, shocking, emphasis on direct Biblical study and plain exegesis went hand-in-hand with a re-evaluation of medieval theology and interpretation. The Red Jews were necessarily reassimilated to the Ten Tribes because their apocalyptic role was being re-appropriated by the Biblical destroyers Gog and Magog -- in Luther's eyes, the Turks.

This is a new identification of epochal import. It conforms to the medieval pattern according to which the Mongols or Tatars could be Gog and Magog, or the Ten Tribes, or both: the signs of the times are made to signify events in

the eternal history of salvation, and the Turks fit in well. What is new is the progressive divorce, over the course of the sixteenth century, of the Red Jews from their apocalyptic role. As they become a 'secular' people, despite the apocalyptic undertone of such qualifications as 'only God knows what this all signifies', the Red Jews lose their *raison d'être*, even as events relating to the apocalyptically-charged military might and eastern city -- the Ottoman Empire and Jerusalem -- continue to be interpreted according to the categories provided by popular tradition, in the form of the Red Jews. In the midst of change, in other words, the Red Jews were a convention that 'made sense' (i.e., they were a necessary part of the subject under discussion) to the authors, and presumably to the buyers, of these much-reprinted pamphlets. Just as the German translator of the *Passau Anonymous* and Konrad Steckel inserted the Red Jews into narratives where the vernacular demanded them, so the authors of the sixteenth century pamphlets had a strong notion that the Red Jews belonged in their latter-day narratives. The outside world has always to be 'made sense of' according to 'internal' or at least acquired categories and beliefs about past, present and future.

That the Red Jews had been 'invented' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries using multiple layers from heterogeneous sources is not a sign of confusion or loose thinking. These

stories were so close, the associations between the Messiah awaited by Jews and the Antichrist feared by Christians were so evident, that an exegete used to the effort of harmonizing 'seemingly' contradictory biblical passages was not to be put off by the difference between the Ten Tribes and Gog and Magog: they <u>were</u> the same people because they would both play the 'same' role at the end of time. This approximate identification is based on concrete characteristics, not express description. It is pragmatic, not based on explicit principles of exegesis or ratiocination. It is 'good to think with'; whether or not it was Biblical seems not to have mattered to most medieval Christians. Thus, a broadly European apocalypticism gradually absorbed the animus of an equally widespread antisemitism. Biblical and literary material alike were fair game to Comestor and his scholastic and historical imitators, to the courtly poets who borrowed the conflation from the Comestorine tradition and added the pejorative adjective 'red', and to the authors of popular late medieval exegetical works. The name served a distinct programmatic purpose: to identify the Ten Tribes (Jews) with the unclean peoples enclosed by Alexander. These enclosed peoples, utter savages literally beyond the pale of civilization, took on the apocalyptic function of Gog and Magog as well as the Jewishness, and concomitant association with the Antichrist, of the Ten Tribes. The name 'Red Jews' marked them with a

specific and pejorative label. From Comestor on, medieval Christians had compelling political and religious reasons (though they may seem specious to us) to identify the ultimate external destroyers of Christendom with those who were coming to be seen as its worst internal enemies -- the Jews. The legend of the Red Jews articulated and propagated a specifically German, antisemitic strain of Christian apocalypticism in the high and later Middle Ages.

In the fifteenth century, the Red Jews moved from high literature and court circles into the world of the towns and book-markets. The Historiated Bibles, the many versions of the Alexander novel and above all, the manuscript, chiroxylographic, xylographic and typographic *Antichrist*-books reflected a deep-seated and widespread view of the Red Jews as the particular associates of the Antichrist and as the apocalyptic people *par excellence*.

In the sixteenth century, the Red Jews came to play a slightly different role; their importance to the Apocalypse receded as Gog and Magog took on clearly Turkish features, and as political and military concerns took precedence over apocalyptic fears -- though these worldly concerns were still expressed in terms borrowed from the latter. The Red Jews continued to function as a tradition-sanctioned category for the explanation of mysterious and threatening goings-on in the east amongst the Turks. That the term Red Jews seems to have

conveyed very little precise content to the authors of the 1562 and 1596 pamphlets is not as important as the fact that they used it; much of the content had been sapped by Luther's *Türkenschau* (understanding of the Turks) and by the beginning process of re-integration into the Biblically-sanctioned story of the Ten Tribes.

Throughout this study, I have distinguished between Latin sources that refer to the Ten Tribes, to Gog and Magog, or to both, and vernacular ('Germanic') sources that spread the legend of the Red Jews. It is impossible to argue that the venacular sources dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reflect popular belief, as they were written by courtly poets or urban notables for a restricted audience. Yet there was evidently a clear distinction between the beliefs of the Latinate and those of the 'Germanate'. The phrase Red Jews clothed the Comestorine conflation ('Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander' and the Ten Tribes) in an uniquely German fabric. Vernacular letters in Germany had a relatively young but already quite independent tradition, which made room for this creatively hateful version of the Jews' role at the end of time. Although it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not larger segments of the population believed in the imminent advent of the Red Jews, courtly vernacular poems and early German exegetical works cannot but have helped to spread the legend among broader strata of society. The results

of this development started to appear as early as 1349, when the Zurich year-book accuses European Jews of having received the foul plague-poison from the Red Jews -- from which we can assume a fairly widespread knowledge of the 'red peril'. The ripening of the medieval legend among the 'better sort' of the common people occurred in the fifteenth century, when the Historiated Bibles, a rather formal variety of vernacular exegesis, were followed by the much more informal or story-like manuscript *Antichrist*-book, then by its many printed editions, reaching ever-broader segments of society as prices fell and printing runs grew. The peak of the harvest and the simultaneous onset of a slow decay came in the sixteenth century, when popular pamphlets made the medieval legend available -- or reflected it back to -- much larger social groups than could ever before have been reached (whether by popular pamphlets or by the blundering investigations of modern historians). The content of the legend mutated under the influence of more informed anti-Jewish polemic (provided by converts like Victor von Carben and Antonius Margaritha), Reformation Biblicism, the press of war and politics, and finally, the sheer weight of time and forgetfulness.

2. Epilogue

The German legend of the Red Jews, a relative latecomer, was to disappear from the Christian West entirely. The Ten

Tribes, however, who can at least be interpreted or squeezed out of Biblical passages, were to have a long and illustrious career in European and later in American speculative theology, history and geography. Manasseh ben Israel was to use the theme in Cromwell's time (in 1648) in his efforts to gain readmittance for the Jews to England.[2] Thomas Thorowgood published a book entitled *Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race* (London 1650). Over the course of the following two centuries, the Ten Tribes were 'found' in all parts of the world, from the Orinoco to Ohio, from the upper reaches of the Nile to the upper reaches of New York State.[3] But as apocalyptic expectations cooled and

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2. See Wolf, *Menasseh Ben-Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*. The title of Manasseh's work, reprinted by Wolf, is *The Hope of Israel* (London 1650). Manasseh was convinced that the inhabitants of the Americas were the scattered descendants of the Ten Tribes. When all the lands of the world should have been settled by Jews, the ingathering and redemption of Israel, a prerequisite for the Last Judgment, could begin. In his appeal to Cromwell, Manasseh argued that allowing the return of the Jews to England (they hade been excluded from that country since 1291) would help fulfil the prophecies concerning the End Time.

3. James Adair's *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775) detailed supposed similarities between the Indians, the Jews and the ancient Israelites. Joseph Smith, prophet and founder of the Mormon church (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints) also posited the descent of the American aboriginals from the Ten Tribes. According to the *Book of Mormon* (1830), the lost Israelites voyaged to America, where Jesus preached to them. For further details of nineteenth-century searches for the Ten Tribes, see Godbey, *The Ten Tribes: A Myth?* and Weil, *Beyond the Sambatyon: The Myth of the Ten Lost Tribes*, 35-82 (Hebrew numbering).

gradually subsided, at least in mainstream Christianity, the Ten Tribes lost their eschatological nimbus and became curiosities, the sort of thing that resulted in earnest scholarly searches for the exiled Israelites.

But what of the Red Jews? In 1748, a Jewish convert to the Lutheran faith who had become a pastor at Eschenberga (in the principality of Gotha), Friedrich Albrecht Augusti, published a series of letters he claims to have exchanged with Jews whose purpose was to confuse him and lead him back to the Mosaic faith.[4] Aside from an interesting, though hostile and perhaps unreliable view of popular Jewish belief and practice in the eighteenth century,[5] this booklet mentions the Red Jews. Augusti reports that

> "The miracle-river [Sambation], from which the [holy] water is drawn, is said to be so agitated all week long that the waves toss stones around, and make crossing unsafe: only on the Sabbath does it flow calmly, as though it were celebrating the day of rest along with the Jewish people at the command of the Creator. Thus the Red

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4. *Geheimnisse der Juden von dem Wunder-Fluß Sambathjon, wie auch von denen rothen Juden, in einem Brief-Wechsel mit denen heutigen Juden, zur Erläuterung 2 Reg. 17,6 abgehandelt, und dem Druck überlassen von Friedrich Albrecht Augusti, Pastor zu Eschenberga im Fürstenthum Gotha* (Erfurt, in Verlag der Jungnicolischen Erbin Buchhandlung, 1748). I consulted the only copy extant, that of the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik at Weimar. I owe a debt of thanks to Dr. Wolfgang Albrecht (Stiftung Weimarer Klassik) for his friendly assistance.

5. Many synagogues are said to have vials containing water and sand from the Sabbation; the water is agitated all week, but stands still on the Sabbath; *Geheimnisse*, 15-18.

> Jews beyond the Sambation are hindered from meeting the rest of the Israelites scattered throughout the world; however, when great need makes it necessary, and all Jewry or ten chief rabbis give their permission, a number of *stadlanim*[6] cross the river, and stay with the Red Jews for a time, in order to form a precise impression of their happiness, and to write down and make known to scattered Israel for its comfort all that they have seen and heard beyond the Sambation."[7]

The Red Jews are, of course, the Ten Tribes, embellished as inhabitants of a paradisial realm, and seemingly the objects of a certain popular cult. The Messiah awaited by the Jews is to be found among the Red Jews, who keep him captive until he can go out and found a lasting peace:

"They explain and prove this answer[8] with the obedience

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[6]. Intercessors or agents of the Jews, who are said to travel ceaselessly on behalf of Jewish interests, and to bring back the water of the Sabbation; *Geheimnisse*, Part I, para. 16, p. 15, note e.

[7]. "Der Wunder-Fluß, daraus das Wasser geschoͤpfet wird, soll die ganze Woche uͤber dermassen toben, daß die Wellen Steine um sich werffen, und die Ueberfahrt unsicher machen: nur allein am Sabbathe fließe er stille, als wenn er auf des Schoͤpffers Befehl den Ruhe-Tag mit dem Juͤdischen Volcke feyre, dadurch wuͤrden die rothen Juͤden uͤber den Sambathjon mit den uͤbrigen in der gantzen Welt zerstreuten Israeliten zusammen zu kommen, verhindert, doch aber, wenn es die hoͤchste Noth erfordere, und von der gantzen Juͤdenschafft, oder 10 Land-Rabbinen Erlaubniß ertheilet, setzten etliche Stadlanim am Sabbathe uͤber den Strom, hielten sich einige Zeit bey den rothen Juͤden auf, ihre Gluͤckseligkeit genau zu bemercken, und alles, was sie jenseits des Sambathjons gesehen und gehoͤret, zum Trost des gantzen zerstreueten Israels schriftlich aufzuzeichnen, und kund zu machen." *Geheimnisse*, Part I, para. 17, 15-16.

[8]. The answer to the question why God has not yet liberated the Jews in exile; namely because divine justice is still punishing public evils.

> of the Messiah, for he, a Son of David, is held captive amongst the Red Jews; all week long he is bound in iron chains [to one spot], but on the Sabbath he is tied by only a weak thread, which he does not break, nor does he cross the Sambation to liberate the captive Jews, in order not to break his obedience nor defile the Sabbath, until he can bring about a lasting peace and let all the sins of the Jewish people be avenged on his holy body..."[9]

Augusti ascribes the term Red Jews to the Jews themselves, commenting:

> "By 'Red Jews' they [the Jews] definitely understand the inhabitants [of the land] beyond the river Sambation, to whom they give this name, which is highly esteemed and glorious among them, both on account of the **red and lively color of their face,**[10] **and of the precious purple clothes**, which they wear as the sign of a free people, in order to distinguish them from all other [Jews] living in miserable exile."[11]

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[9]. "Diese Antwort erlaʿtern und beweisen sie mit des Meßiaʿ Gehorsam, denn es wuʿrde derselbe, der ein Sohn Davids, unter denen rothen Juʿden in Gefangenschaft behalten; die gantze Woche waʿre er mit eisern Ketten angebunden, am Sabbathe aber nur mit einem schwachen Faden befestiget, welchen er doch nicht zerreisse, nicht uʿber den Sambathjon gienge, und die gefangenen Juʿden erloʿse, damit er weder den Gehorsam, noch den Sabbath breche und entheilige, bis er um einen dauerhaften Frieden zu wege zu bringen, alle Laster des Juʿdischen Geschlechts an seinem heiligen Leibe austoben lassen..." *Geheimnisse*, Part I, para. 14, 13-14.

[10]. Cf. the translation of Victor's *Judenbüchlein*, the *Opus aureum*, in which the translator calls the Red Jews *robustissimi*.

[11]. The footnote after this paragraph continues: "The European and Asian Jews may not wear any red clothes because they are still in mourning over the the Temple and the city of Jerusalem. The color red is among the Jews a sign of freedom, and of the greatest joy. The royal children were distinguished from others by this color used for their clothes. The Red Jews, however, so they say, have experienced no *galuth*, no *chorban*, i.e., no exile and no desolation. These Jews wear the

Augusti's Jewish interlocutors have explanations ready for the odd term, he adds in a footnote: the color red in the

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most beautiful purple, no-one can forbid it them. Though permission is given nowadays by their chief rabbis to Jewish physicians and court Jews, both in Europe and in Asia, to wear red clothes, they must pay a yearly fee to the synagogue. As I have already noted above, some Jews of the Diaspora have been allowed to cross to this blessed land; they support the tale with the nonsensical fiction that from time to time, some Red Jews had appeared in Europe and Asia, who had received permission from the princes of the House of David beyond the Sambation to break the Sabbath and cross the miraculous river, in order that their brethren might be strengthened and comforted." The German original of this passage, including the text and note, reads as follows: "Durch die rothen Juden verstehen sie sicherlich die Einwohner jenseits des Flusses Sambathjon, welchen sie diesen unter ihnen so hoch geachteten und prächtigen Namen beylegen, sowol wegen der **rothen lebhaften Farbe ihres Angesichts, als der köstlichen Purpur-Kleidung**, womit sie als ein freyes Volck herum giengen, um sie von allen andern in elende lebenden zu unterscheiden. [note:] Die Europäischen, und Asiatischen Juden dürffen keine rother Kleider tragen, weil sie noch in trauer stehen, wegen des Tempels und der Stadt Jerusalem, die rothe Farbe ist bey denen Juden ein Zeichen der Freyheit, wie auch der grösten Freudigkeit. Die Königlichen Kinder haben dieses zum voraus gehabt, daß man sie an dieser Farbe von andern hat pflegen zu unterscheiden. Die rothen Juden hingegen sagen sie, haben kein Galuth, kein Chorban ausgestanden, d.i. keine Gefangenschaft, keine Verwüstung; diese Juden kleiden sich in den schönsten Purpur, ihnen darf es niemand wehren. Zwar wird auch noch heut zu Tage, denen Jüdischen Aertzten und Hof-Juden, von denen Land-Rabbinen, in Europa und Asia, die Erlaubniß rothe Kleider zu tragen, gegeben, allein sie müssen davor jährlich ein gewisses Geld der Synagoge zinsen. Wie ich bereits oben angeführet, daß einige Juden aus der Zerstreuung in dieses gebenedeyte Land über setzen dürffen; so bekräfftigen sie alles mit dem nichtigen Gedichte; es wären dann und wann einige rothe Juden in Europa und Asia zum Vorschein gekommen, welche den Sabbath zu entheiligen, und über diesen Wunder-Fluß zu gehehn, von denen Obersten des hauses Davids jenseit des Sambathjons Erlaubniß erhalten, damit ihre bedrängte Brüder gestärckt werden möchten." *Geheimnisse*, Part II, para. 3, 27-29.

locution Red Jews is interpreted as the color of royalty, the purple of ancient and medieval sumptuary laws. The explanation is coherent and persuasive, and if there were even one ancient or medieval citation to support it, it would deserve serious attention. However, this study has reviewed strong evidence that the term Red Jews originated in the cultural-linguistic formation that produced the related term *Rotwelsch* in the thirteenth century, and is therefore a Christian term for a Christian fabrication. The Jewish rationale on which Augusti reports is a clever and logical attempt to make sense of a foreign term inherited from Christian Germany. As the medieval legend of the Red Jews lost its coherence in competition with the Biblical stories of the Ten Tribes and Gog and Magog, the term Red Jews lost its anchorage in antisemitic Christian apocalyptic, and became a free agent, which Jewish folklore adopted as a name for the Ten Tribes.[2] Augusti does not comment on this explanation beyond calling the Red Jews and the Sambation a fable (*Gedicht*) and a superstition (*Aberglaube*).

In 1815, Christian August Vulpius, Goethe's brother-in-

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[2]. Augusti notes that the non-rabbinical Jewish sect of the Karaites, who lived mainly in eastern Europe and Asia Minor, and 'who otherwise are not subject to superstition', "fabuliren doch auch von dem Sambathjon und rothen Juden"; he refers his readers with the fine nonchalance born of well-known abbreviations to Christoph Wolf, "notitiam Kareor.", p. 94, note a: *Geheimnisse*, 30.

law, published in his series *Curiositäten der physisch-literarisch-artistisch-historischen Vor- und Mitwelt*[13] a brief condensation of Augusti's booklet.[14] Vulpius expands on a comment of Luther's (cited by Augusti) in the Commentary on Ezekiel 38 and 39: "wie die landferer sagen" (as the vagabonds say). Luther seems to have been thinking of the exotic stories told by wandering (Christian) beggars. Vulpius understands the passage in terms of his own experience, noting:

> "There is no doubt that the wandering vagabonds who say that they are Red Jews are frauds, but they used to find, especially in days gone by, among the Jews, particularly in Poland, many credulous souls who believed them. They told their fairy-tales and moved their audience to tears. That there was something in it for them, one can well imagine. These red guests comforted their brothers and gave them hope that their salvation would soon occur..."[15]

It is not unreasonable to conclude that Vulpius knew of such vagabonds himself, because although Augusti mentions the 'fable' that some Red Jews had broken the Sabbath come out to

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[3]. 10 vols. (Weimar 1811-1825); vol. IV (Weimar 1815).

[4]. The entry is entitled "Der Wunder-Fluß Sambathjon und die rothen Juden"; 527-535.

[5]. "Es ist kein Zweifel, daß die umherirrenden Landstreicher, welche sagen, wir sind rothe Juden, Betrüger sind, aber sie fanden, besonders ehemals, unter den Juden, vorzüglich in Polen, viele gläubige Seelen. Sie erzählten ihre Märchen und rührten die Zuhörer bis zu Thränen. Daß dabei für sie etwas abfiel, kann man sich denken. Die rothen Gäste trösten ihre Brüder und machen ihnen Hoffnung zur Erscheinung ihres Heils." "Der Wunder-Fluß Sambathjon und die rothen Juden", 534.

comfort their brethren,[16] he does not provide the details to be found in Vulpius' article. The 'curiosity value' of this report is the main reason for its printing, as the title of the series suggests: the name was unclear, even if certain Jewish peddlers resorted to clothing themselves in the term as a means of attracting attention and presents, in the tradition of David Reubeni.

In his novel *Radetzky-Marsch*,[17] Joseph Roth (or rather, the narrator) depicts certain eastern Jews as red-headed and red-bearded, suggesting they might be descended from the "legendary people of the Chazars", who did in fact exist, and whose princes and nobles, at the very least, converted to Judaism, but who are never in any other context referred to as red-headed or as Red Jews. Isaac Bashevis Singer, in a short story called "To the Land of Israel",[18] describes the plight of a poor old man who had always dreamed of going in search of the ten lost tribes beyond the Sambation. He emigrates from Warsaw to Israel, but comes home disillusioned: yet finally he is drawn back to the land of his ancestors. The narrator muses "Has he perhaps gone in search of the Red Jews on the other

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16. *Geheimnisse*, Part II, para. 3, 28-29, note 2.

17. (Cologne, 1932; reprint 1989).

18. Published in the volume entitled *In My Father's Court* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988" [1962]), 31-87.

side of the river Sambation? You could expect anything from a man like Moshe Blecher."[19] A recent German translation of Mendele Mojcher Sforim's story "Die Reisen Benjamins des Dritten"[20] contains numerous references to the Red Jews in the east.[21]

The term 'Red Jews' survived into this century as a folkloric Jewish name for the Ten Tribes. In modern Jewish literature, the uprooted German phrase is pressed into service when an author wants to create an atmosphere of exotic eastern mystery. But while the modern Jewish use of the term to denote the Ten Tribes still shares the geographic co-ordinates of ancient and medieval legend -- themselves derived from Biblical sources --, it is entirely divorced from the intellectual and religious co-ordinates of the antisemitic apocalypticism that produced and articulated the legend of the Red Jews in medieval and early modern Germany.

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[19]. "To the Land of Israel", 37.

[20]. This story is in *Jiddische Erzählungen*, trans. Leo Nadelmann (Zurich, 1985²; Manesse-Bibliothek der Weltliteratur); *passim*.

[21]. Some older eastern European Jews have vague recollections of stories about the "rote Jiddelech", which mirror the instances in the modern literature cited below. I am indebted to Winfried Frey (Frankfurt a/M) for this information.

APPENDIX A: THE RED JEWS IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SOURCES

Note: published verse texts have been reproduced with their original numbering; published and previously unpublished prose texts have been numbered in the left margin to facilitate quotation. The sixteenth-century pamphlets have been numbered according to the form in which they originally were printed, in order to facilitate bibliographical and textual comparison between editions. Numbers in square brackets within texts reproduce the page and line numbering of the manuscript or printing cited; numbers in square brackets in the left margin of translations indicate the corresponding line in the source text, according to my numbering.

1. Text of the *Younger Titurel*:[1]

6124
Drî tageweide lenge man grôze berge vindet
von disem mer sô strenge. der berge hoʿh die rôten Juden bindet,
daz si niht sint ûf erde progende varnde.
dazt von der berge hoʿhe. der regenbog ist vil ir hoʿhe sparnde.

6125
Gôg und Magôg hiezen zwô diet. nâch den genennet
sint dise berg, die sliezen kunnen wol die Juden, sô bekennet.
snél und wild ir meng übr al die welte.
krísten unde heiden wær ein niht gein in zu wider gelte.

6126
Ab den bergen rünse gêt, wît und grôz von steinen.
ein starker wagn erdünse, ich wæn, her von dem reine kûm ir einen.
kein var dar über wart noch nie besinnet
în ditz mer von sande. dûrch diu lant gar âne zuht iz rinnet.

6127
Die Juden iz besliuzet an einer sîten umbe.
ein ander wazzer fliuzet vón den bergen durch die wüesten krumbe
von wazzer lûter rein, gebirde wilde
von gimm und von gesteine: des lît dar inne wunder und unbilde.

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1. The area here depicted is part of the legendary kingdom of Prester John. Printed in Albrecht von Scharfenberg, *Der Jüngere Titurel*, selected and edited by Werner Wolf (Berne, 1978; =Altdeutsche Übungstexte, 14), strophes 6124-6127; also *Der Jüngere Titurel*, ed. Karl Hahn (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842; =Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur, 24), v. 6057-6060. This immensely popular tale was printed in 1477 (Wolfenbüttel 275.8 Hist. 2°; Hain 6683); Wolf's text depends as much on Hahn's edition as it does on the 1477 text.

Prose translation:

[6124]
Three days' march from this harsh sea [sea of sand and gravel], there are great mountains. The height of these mountains restrains the red Jews, so that they cannot swarm war-like and proud over the rest of the world. That is because the mountains are so high. The rainbow is much lower than these mountains are.

[6125]
Gog and Magog are the names of two peoples after whom these mountains are called. The mountains easily contain the Jews described above. Swift and wild is their host, over all the earth. Christians and Jews [would be destroyed], were it not for one thing that prevails against them.

[6126]
Down from the mountains flows a river, broad and filled with stones so big, that a great waggon could carry, I believe, hardly one of those in this "Rhine" (river). No crossing of this river to the sea of sand has ever been imagined. It flows through this land wildly and untamed.

[6127]
It closes the Jews in on one side. Another river flows from the mountains and wends it way through the desert, with clear, clean water, and wild motion, full of gems and precious stones, of which the river contains many wondrous and unbelievable examples.

2. The *Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg* (end of 13th century):[2]

Die usser welten helden gütt
Komend in ain ander land,
Die warend Plotzen[3] genannt,
Daz waz dü rott Judischhaitt,
Von den man noch in landen saitt.
Die waren och vergifte wol.
Von gesten sy vil schwern zol
Nomen, als man von in saitt.
Daz land waz witt unde braitt
[line missing]
Tugende und beschaidenhaitt
Waz in allen türre.
Gross und ungehürre
Warend sy all gemeine
Und och so gar unraine,
Wer ir ze rechtt nam war,
Des libe müst erschreken gar.
Man sach Ulixen den zagen
Aber sinen kummer clagen.
Im gab der aber senden trost
Der in dik hette erlost.
Es müste sin und solte wesen:
Die miltten ritter usserlesen
Rustend aber ze stritte sich,
Won es in alles sicherlich
Vor getett nie so not.
Uff den vil grimenklichen tod
Wurden sy gevochten an
Von mengen valschhaften man
Die den heren trügen hass,
Sy wüsten selber umb waz.
[...]
Hercules[4] erkantte
Daz ain unzalliche diet
Gegen dem kille gerïtt.

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2. *Der Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg*, ed. Alfred Koppitz (Berlin, 1926; =Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 29), 272-274.

3. On the basis of manuscript evidence, Koppitz suggests that this may be a corrupt form of Coltzen, itself a Germanization of Colchis. *Trojanerkrieg*, 272, note on line 16170.

4. Koppitz notes that not Hercules, but Ulysses is meant here. *Trojanerkrieg*, 273, note on line 16210.

Aber der forchtsame man
In den kïll ze grund endran,
Dar inne er lag verborgen
Untz uff den zwölften morgen.
Die werden ritter an der zitt
Müsten aber üben stritt
An den selben stunden
Mit laiden hel(le) hunden.
Sy trügend all gemaine an
Von horne paldan fraisan,
Dar under stachel ringe gantz,
Ir helm waren hartte glantz;
Gefügett und geschmitt vin,
Ir schiltt on arge pin
Von kainer hande schwerte(n).
Strittens die faigen gertten,
Sy wolten do der Krïchen gold
Haben und och des kïlles sold.
Des müsten sich die fürsten wern.
Gort müsse üns die helden ernern!
Der lütte und des schalles toss
Ward so unmässenklichen gros
Da von nach recht nieman
Daz wunde(r) volle sage(n) kan
Von diere creature.
Stark und ungehurre
So waz der kampflichen nott.
Der vil grimekliche tod
Twang all da vil manigen man,
Dem ich doch der fraisse nit verban.
Manig helm, schaittel unde bartt
Mitt swerten da gespalten ward.
Ach Vennus, du kayserinne,
Ich main dich, werde Mine,
Bis dinen diennern by
Und tü sy aller sorgen fry!
Sy sprach: 'fründ Wolfran,
Der dienner mine ich nit enlan.'
Aiax der fürste riche degen
Mitt mannes mütt usser wegen
Valtt ir mangen in sin blütt
Sam tett der junge ritter gütt
Aminall, des waffen braitt
Manigen versertt und verschnaid.
Untz an des zwelften tages zitt
Wertte diere jomers stritt.
Manig starker Jude rott
Lag da jemerlichen tod.
Da ward an den stunden

Der balsame funden
Der noch ze manigen tütt
Dem menschen dike hochen mütt.
Zweinzig tussend by den tagen
Ward der rotten diett erschlagen.
Och dü andren von dan
Hin an daz gebirge endran,
Die sitt her über mengiu jar
Ain vil richer künge claur
Schlüg und betwang daz land.
Alexander waz er genantt.

[And the Greeks, having won, move on to the next adventure.]

Translation:

These fine warriors [the Greeks], the very best
came into another land,
called Plotzen.
This was the land of red Jewry,
which is still spoken of today.
They were a poisonous lot indeed.
From travellers they demanded a very heavy toll,
it is said about them
Their country stretched far and wide
[line missing].
Virtue and modesty
were perverted in all of them.
In general they were
huge and horrible,
and so thoroughly foul and unnatural[5]
that anyone who looked at them closely
experienced a physical reaction of fright.
Ulysses the faint-hearted was seen
to bewail his misery,
but he who had often saved him,
gave him estimable solace.
It had to be and must come to pass:
the noble knights, the best there were,
armed themselves for battle;
but it certainly had never
before made them so anxious.
Right unto the death
they were attacked
by many faithless men
who hated them [their lordships],
they themselves knew why.

Hercules [i.e., Ulysses] saw
that an innumerable horde
was riding toward the ship.
But, fearful man that he was,
he fled to the bilge of the ship,
and lay hidden there
until the twelfth morning.
The worthy knights
had to defend themselves
right away
against these hateful hell-hounds.

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5. See chapter III for a discussion of the meanings of "unrein/unrain".

They all wore
terrifyingly solid body-plates[6] of horn
and underneath whole steel rings,
their helmets were of shiny metal;
[16225] their shields were fitted together well
and skilfully forged [unclear].
The damned ones [destined to die] desired battle,
they wanted the gold of the Greeks
[16230] and the ship for booty.
The princes must fight off the threat.
May God protect them for us!
The shouting and the yelling
made by these creatures
[16235] was so extremely loud
that no-one
can describe it properly.
Great and terrifying
was the horror of battle.
[16240] Grim death
conquered many a man
strong and fierce.
Many a helmet, skull, and beard
were split with swords.
[16245] Ah, Venus, thou Empress,
I mean you, praiseworthy Dame Love,
stand by your servants
and free them of all care!
Her answer: 'Friend Wolfram,
I do not abandon my servants.'
[16250] Ajax the mighty prince,
in manly courage exalted above all others,
felled many a one in his blood,
just as the goodly young knight
[16255] Aminall did, whose mighty sword
injured and cut many, far and wide.
This horrifying battle
lasted until the twelfth day.
Many a strong red Jew lay dead,
[16260] in wretched fashion.

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[6]. The editor has suggested for the otherwise unknown word "paldan", "plate/blate": chest-plate, cuirass; *Trojanerkrieg*, 273, note to line 16222.

[7]. The author is strongly influenced by the work of Wolfram and by the Younger Titurel (thought in the middle ages to be the work of Wolfram); he goes so far as to intimate that he is himself Wolfram (*Trojanerkrieg*, XXII).

At that time
the balsam was found
that still today
gives men high spirits.[1]
[16265] Twenty thousand of the red people
were killed in those days,
and the others
fled from there into the mountains.
Many years later they were defeated
[16270] by a very powerful and good king,
who conquered that country.
That king was called Alexander.

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[1]. Koppitz suggests an alternate reading: 'Da zeigte sich der barmherzig ["Erbarmesan erfunden" for "Der balsam funden"], der noch jetzt die Menschen in Nöten erfreut = Gott?' (And then he who still today helps people in dire straits showed himself to be merciful = God?); *Trojanerkrieg*, 274, note on lines 16261ff.

3. The Red Jews in *Gottes Zukunft* by Heinrich of Neustadt (c. 1300):[9]

Wie der Endecrist nach Gog
und nach Magog und nach den
roden Juden sendet.

Als ez an der zit ist,
Die mere vernimpt Endecrist.
'Daz ist mir wider und unwert:
Ez endet kolbe und swert.
Mir ist die rede unmere
Daz zwen alte beltenere
Sich su'ln setzen wider mich.
Ich bin geweltig und rich,
Caspi daz beslozzen lant
Daz ist gar in miner hant,
Die roden Ju'den, daz volq Goq,
Amazones und Magoq,
Und waz der himel hat bedaht,
Daz mu'z dinen miner maht:
Das hat Got mir gegeben,
Got, mit dem ich iemer leben.'
In den selben ziten
Heizt er gen und riten
Nach lu'ten verre in die lant
Die hie vor sint genant,
Daz sie komen wol bereit
Mit harnesch an geleit.

[...]

Wie der Endecrist stridet
wider Helyas und Enoch.

NQ sint die lu'te gar bereit
Von den hie vor ist geseit,
Daz volk daz da heizzet Goq,

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[9]. in: *Heinrichs von Neustadt 'Appolonius von Tyrland' nach der Gothaer Handschrift. 'Gottes Zukunft' und 'Visio Philiberti' nach der Heidelberger Handschrift*, ed. S. Singer (Dublin/Zurich, 1967²; =Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 7), 331-352; 413-414. Excerpts of the *Von Gottes Zukunft* were published by J. Strobl (Vienna, 1875), and are the basis of this edition. See Singer's introduction for further details and literature (v-xiii).

Und daz ander Magog.
Zehen der geslehte sint
Und kamen von Japhetes kint:
Nie volk gruſsenlicher wart.
In dem lande sint sie verspart:
Der starke Alexander
Dreip sie mit einander
Durch die berge Caspie.
Sie enmohten sieder niemer me
Her uz zu den luſten komen:
Daz understet nach irm fromen
Die kuſniginne Amazonum
Riche in hohem ruſm:
Daz heizt in der megde lant.
Der Endecrist hat dar gesant:
Dez werdent sie alle gemeit
Und zu dinste im bereit.
Ir ist worden als vil
Daz ir zal ist ane zil.
Man sperret uf die strazzen:
Sie werdent uz gelazen
Und varent also da hin.
Gein Jherusalem ist ir sin:
Ir muſt ist daz sie wellen
Beide stozzen und vellen
Gemeinlich alle cristenheit.
Ir her ist groz und breit.
So sie komen vor die stat
An daz dal zu Josephat,
So vert auch dort von dem mer
Helyas do mit Cristes her.
[...]
Die bose diet wirt alle erslagen
Von Cristi kempfen bi den tagen,
Ich mein daz ungestalte volk Gog
Und ir geslehte Magog,
Zu Josephat in dem tal:
Nieman wißen mag ir zal.
Die Got zu kempfen erkos,
Die werdent doch sigelos.
Helyas und die cristen schar
Werdent do erslagen gar,
Enoch blibt auch da dot:
[...]
Die Juſden kerent sich zu Got,
Sie gestent auch Cristes gebot.
Beide Juſden und heiden
Mag nieman gescheiden.

Der heilige tauf nimpt uber hant
Und Cristes e uber alle lant.
Ez wirt ein glaube gantz
In Cristes orden ane schrantz.

Translation:

[This passage belongs to a long disquisition on the last things. Typical details concerning the Antichrist and his birth at Babylon of the tribe of Dan (5022-5051), his reception by the Jews at Jerusalem (5128-5133), the Holy Roman Emperor deposing his crown on the Mount of Olives (5440), the conversion of the Jews (5450-5455) and the Jews and heathens (5526-5528) are thrown together, betraying the multiplicity of not necessarily concordant sources from which this compilation is drawn. After these events, Enoch and Elijah return to oppose the Antichrist, who musters his forces.]

THE ANTICHRIST SENDS FOR GOG AND MAGOG, AND FOR THE RED JEWS.

When the time was ripe,
Antichrist heard the tale [that Elijah and Enoch had come to oppose him].
'I find this abhorrent and sickening:
only clubs and swords will put an end to it.
I do not care about the news
that two old beggars
are to oppose me.
I am powerful and mighty,
and Caspia, the enclosed country,
is entirely in my hands.
The Red Jews, the people of Gog,
the Amazons and Magog,
and whoever else Heaven may have placed there
must serve my power:
God has granted me this,
God, with whom I will live forever.'
At the same time
he ordered that [messengers] go and ride
to the peoples named above
in far-off lands,
that they should come well prepared,
with their armour on.

[There follows the dispute between Enoch and Elijah and the Antichrist, who then performs wonders, martyrs those who do not worship him, dies and rises again on the third day, and finally joins battle with Enoch and Elijah:]

HOW THE ANTICHRIST FIGHTS ENOCH AND ELIJAH.

Now the people,
who were mentioned above,
are all ready, the people that is called Goq,
and the other called Magog.
They are ten tribes
and are the descendants of Japhet:
never was there a people more terrifying.
They are locked up in that country:
the mighty Alexander
drove them altogether
through the Caspian Mountains.
Since then they have not been able
to come out to the people [the rest of the world]:
Fo her own sake
The Queen of the Amazons,
of great and glorious fame, prevents it.
[Amazon] means in the land of the maidens.
The Antichrist has sent his messengers there [to 'Caspia'],
and they [the inhabitants] all rejoiced and
were ready to serve him.
They have become so numerous
that their numbers are without end.
The passes are opened up:
they are let out and
and they start their march:
they are headed for Jerusalem:
they intend
to attack and cut down
all of Christendom.
Their armies are great and widespread.
When they come before the City
to the valley of Josaphat,
at the same time Elijah
comes from the sea with Christ's army.
[...]
The evil people are all killed
at that time by Christ's representatives,
I mean the foul people of Goq
and their kindred Maqog,
in the vale of Josephat;
no-one can know how many they are.
[Yet] those whom God chose as his fighters
were not victorious.
Elijah and the Christian host
are entirely destroyed there,
and Enoch falls there too.
[The followers of the Antichrist triumph, but are soon destroyed when the archangel Michael kills

their leader and they are dragged off to Hell.
The Jews, however, are spared and convert:]
[5994] The Jews convert to God,
and acknowledge Christ's commandments.
No-one can distinguish either Jews or heathens [from Christians].
Holy baptism triumphs
and the Christian faith spreads over all lands.
[6000] There is but one faith, whole and undivided,
without splits in Christ's ranks.
[A purified and sinless humanity is allowed forty-five days to confess their past sins and set their souls in order: then the Last Judgement begins.]

4. The middle High German version of the Passau Anonymus (c. 1330):[10]

1 X: De Gog et Magog

[U]on der unzallichen diet, die Gog vnd Maggog an der hailigen geschrift seind genant, der seind zwelf geschlächte, die haut weilent der gwaltig kúng Alexander
5 mit des allmechtigen gottes kraft hinder gar grossem vnd aislichem gepirge verschlossen, das sy nit herauß múgend komen vntz ze des anticristus zeiten. So verhenget in got, das sy auß varend uf die cristenhait vnd wellend die verderben vnd tůnd den cristen laid vnd angst, als die
10 hailig geschrift ietzu betúttet haut. Ze den selben zeiten so ist römisch reich zú Franckreich komen vnd des kúngreiches pfligt danne ain sälig rain kúnig, der gott mit vorchten vor augen haut. Der besamnet sich denne mit mänigen gůten cristen, die mit sambt im ir leben durch
15 die liebe vnsers herren uff die waug setzend vnd bestand die vngetauften diet mit stritt, vnd ob der kristen vil verderbend, doch gesigend sy den selben juden an, die haissend auch die r'ten Juden, vnd schlachend sy so gar ze tode, daz ir ainer nit belibet. Sehend, also ist denne
20 daz fúr von hymel, das ist gottes zorn, uff si komen vnd haut sy verschwendet an dem libe vnd dar zú mit sambt der
sel inn den prinnenden see geworfen, als auch die hailig geschrift vor haut kunt gemacht. Wa von aber die roten juden ze diser zeit nit auß múgent komen, das ist gůt ze
25 wissen. Es ist das selb land an ainem tail mit so hohem vnd so aislichem gepirge vnd stain geschúrre vmb vangen, das ioch kain vogel darúber geflúgen mag. So ist an dem andern tail so grosse vnd so dicke vinsternúst vmb das selb land, das man die selben vinsternúß mit dehainem
30 liechte durch brechen mag. Da uon mag man dar durch nit komen. So ist an dem dritten tail daz selb land mit ainem starken wasser verspert. Das ist so schnell, daz ze aller zeit grosß stain dar inne walgend vnd joch von grund auf vnd nider vallend, das dehain mensch dar über mag, wann
35 ains tages inn dem jare so geligend die stain stille. Des selben tages vert ettwenne ain cristen in das selb land seines kauffes willen. Der mùß auch daz gantz jar dar inne beliben. Sechend, dis sache irret das volck mit gottes gewalt, daz sy nit auß múgent, vntz das sin gott

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[10]. *Vom Antichrist. Eine mittelhochdeutsche Bearbeitung des Passauer Anonymus*, ed. Paul-Gerhard Völker (Munich, 1970; =Kleine deutsche Prosadenkmäler des Mittelalters, 6), 79-81.

by des anticristen zeiten verhengent wirt. Nun wenend die juden vnd ettlich jůdisch kristen, das selb volk syend hailig lůt vnd sechend gern, wenne sy komen, wann si kerend zehant in ir schar. Die selben roten juden bringent mit in ze stritt Mesophos, die selben nennet Josephus Cappadocos vnd pringend die krestenreich Tybal vnd die uͤbeln Spanyol vnd die von Persia vnd die von Libia vnd die von Morenland vnd die von Dogorma vnd von Gomorren, die uon Dascia vnd von Sardeinn vnd mit sambt den uon Karthago vnd noch mänig ungetäffte diet, als der engel ze sanct Johannes sprach, das ir zal sy als der grieß des meres.

O we danne der zeit! Sehend, so nahet das zil, da sant Paulus vnd ander hailig geschrift von gekundet haut. Der anticrist der kumpt nit, vntz das die missehellung kumt, das ist, das alle reich römischen kaysertům vngehorsam werdent vnd alle pfaffen des bapstes gebott nit achtend. Sehend, wer diser sache recht war nimpt, so haut es sich bey vnsern zeiten laider vast an gehaben vnd nachet auch nun vaste gegen der welte ende, als sanct Paulus gesprochen naut: 'Wir syen die, an die der welte ende komen ist'. [I. Cor. 10,11]

Translation:

[1] Gog and Magog

As concers the countless peoples, who are called Gog and Magog in Holy Scripture, they are twelve [!] tribes, whom the mighty king Alexander long ago [5] enclosed with the help of almighty God behind great and horrible mountains, so that they cannot come forth until the time of the Antichrist. Then God will allow them to march against Christendom, which they want to destroy. They will cause the Christians great suffering [10] and terror, as Holy Scripture says. At the same time the Holy Roman Empire will devolve on France and the kingdom will be cared for by a holy and good king who fears God. He will join with many good Christians, who with him are ready to put their [15] life at risk for the love of our lord. They will vanquish the unbaptized peoples in battle, and although many of the Christians will die, they will conquer these Jews, who are also called the Red Jews, and smash them so thoroughly that not one of them is left alive. See, [20] fire has therefore fallen on them from heaven, that is, God's wrath, and has destroyed their bodies and thrown their souls into the fiery lake, as Holy Scripture has foretold. The reason why the Red Jews cannot escape right now is good to [25] know. Their country is enclosed on one side with such high and terrible mountains and such an array of stones that even a bird cannot fly over them. On another side there is a darkness so thick and so far that surrounds this land [30] that no light can penetrate it. For this reason one cannot get through it. On the third side this land is cut off by a great river. It flows so fast, that at all times great boulders roll along it and even bounce from the riverbed to the surface, such that no human being can [35] cross it, except on one day in the year, when the stones are at rest. On this day sometimes a Christian goes into this land to trade. He must stay there the entire following year. Take note, God's might hinders the people from breaking out, until God allows them to [40] do so at the time of the Antichrist. The Jews and many many Judaizing Christians imagine that this people is holy: they would be glad if they were to come, and would join their ranks immediately. These same Red Jews bring with them as battle-companions the Mesophos [45] [Meshech?], whom Josephus calls Cappadocians, and they bring the Christian kingdom of Tybal [Tubal?]

and the evil Spaniards and those from Persia and from Lybia and from the land of the Moors and from Dogorma and Gomorrah, from Dacia and from Sardinia as well as those of Carthage and many other unbaptized peoples, as
[50] the angel said to Saint John, "their number is as the sand of the sea." [Rev. 20,8]
[The king of France, i.e., the *Friedenskaiser*, vanquishes them and reigns over a time of great peace and abundance, until he decides to set his crown down on the Mount of Olives, after which will begin a time of great misery and persecutions]
O alas and alack for our times! See, now the goal draws near, of which Saint Paul and other Holy Scriptures warned. The Antichrist will not come until the
[55] Tribulation, that is, when all kingdoms become disobedient to the Holy Roman Empire and all clerics ignore the orders of the pope. As he who understand these matters correctly will see, this has already started to happen in our own time, and the end of the world is coming quickly. As Saint Paul
[60] said: 'we are those, upon whom the ends of the world have come.' [I Cor. 10,11]

5. The middle High German *Buch der Maccabäer* by Ludger of Braunschweig (before 1335):[11]

Allexander in der wile
vur mit sines volkes zile
zu bergen hiezen Caspios,
mit im manic man unde ros.
In dem gebirge da waren
der juden zen groze scharen
gevangen unde eigen gar,
sie torsten niht daruz vorwar,
Diz waren die zen geslehte,
die Israhelin vil rehte,
ouch nennet man sie sus dabi
die roten Juden. Daz sint die,
mit den in der letzten zit Goc
kumet hervur unde Magoc.
Durch waz dise in getwangen
nu hie sus waren gevangen,
und wie man sie noch baz besloz,
ein teil entdecken wir des bloz,
wand wir wisen dort vornen an,
da vint man ez geschriben stan
in der kunge buchen. Ez quam
darnach und daz Jerobeam
machte zwei kelbere guldin,
daz solden ire gote sin;
sie anbetten sie in der zit,
des plagte sie got alsus sit
unde gab sie in die hende
der heiden in diz ellende.
Alsus was bliben die rote
da von der kunge gebote,
die sie dar getriben haten;
des waren sie in den staten,
daz sie von gebotes wegen
uz niht torsten wanderns pflegen.
Sus was Allexander nu hie
vor dem gebirge nahen bi.
Die gevangen dort inne
wurden des kunges da inne,
zu im ir boten sie sanden
vleliche wort an en wanden
von der zen geslehte scharen,
die in dem gebirge waren;

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[11]. *Das Buch der Maccabäer in mitteldeutscher Bearbeitung*, ed. Karl Helm (Tübingen, 1904; =*BLVS*, 233).

an en was alsus ir bete,
daz er sie gelazen hete
vri wandern widir zu lande
uz disme gebotes bande.
Allexander vragende wart,
warumme sie also verspart
weren in den bergen so hart.
Des wart antwurte mit der vart:
"Unserre vetre was die schult;
hie bevor sie mit ungedult
karten von dem waren gote,
dem alle dinc zu gebote
sten unde die geschaffen hat.
Daz schuf Jerobeamis rat,
zwei kelbere liez er machen
guldin gut, und in den sachen
betten sie die kelbere an,
zu abgoten sie vurbaz han.
Durch daz hat uns gepflaget got
und gestozen in dise not;
sider immer me da here
sin wir von gebote swere
hie von den kungen gebunden
also du uns nu hast vunden.
Auch haben gotes propheten
vor gekundet allen deten
unde han gesprochen vurwar,
daz unser zen geslehte schar
nimmer keinez uzkumen mac
unz hin vor den jungesten tac."
Allexander antwurte gab,
zu den boten iach er hinab:
"Sint daz der Israhelen got
uch zu gebraht hat disen spot,
als er durch der propheten munt
hat von uch hie gemachet kunt,
wand er durch uwere bosheit
diz allez uch hat angeleit
und alle mine vorvaren
mit gebote herte waren,
uch twungen unde her triben
(von en sit ir hie gebliben),
ich wil niht widertun die tat,
sint ez ist wille unde rat
des grozen gotes, der da hat
in siner hant swaz vruht entfat.
Ich bestete daz vubaz me,
swaz sie begunnen haben e,
unde wil nach irme willen

uch noch herteclicher stillen,
in den bergen uch vermachen,
so daz ir mit keinen sachen
nimmer me hervor gekumet,
uz noch in; daz si verdrumet,
uf daz gotes wille volge
unde immer me ewic ste."
Do begunde Allexander
mit im einer und der ander
arbeiten mit alle der maht,
die im quam unde hate braht,
daz er vermuren zu pflege
wolde gar alle die wege,
die in daz gebirge giengen.
Daz werc sie harte anviengen,
mit grozen steinen unvugen
sie sere zusamne trugen.
Do die arbeit sus mit ile
was geschen etzliche wile,
daz sach Allexandri wisheit,
wie die ubergroze arbeit
was unmenschlich zu volbrengen;
des wart er sich an got spengen
unde sprach sin gebete so:
"Du got, der uber al bist ho,
wand din wille diz selbe ist,
daz nman verveste hie mit list
diz volc in disen gebergen
durch ir ubeltat mit ergen,
unde want wir mit menschencraft
ez niht mugen machen slozhaft,
so lege dine gewalt zu,
besluz mit dem gebirge nu
diz volc, so daz ez nimmer me
heruz kume, daz ist min vle."
Got irhorte sin gebete,
daz gebirge sich zu tete
unde sloz sich zusamne gar,
daz nieman uz noch in vurwar
mac kumen biz an iene zit,
so na der letzte tac gelit.
Denne kumen die geslehte
uz den bergen durch gevehte,
wand von ir vehten und ir strit
gar vil der werlde tot gelit.
Uf dise sach sprichet sus
der meister genant Josephus:
"Sint daz got dise groze dinc
hat getan hie durch den kuninc,

der ungeloubic was voran
unde ein heidenischer man,
noch gar vil me so tete er
durch eines geloubigen ger."
Ouch sprich ich nu daz mine zu
ich armer genant mit unru:
Welde der geloubige gar
gote getruwen ane var,
so mohten durch sin gebeten
die berge zusamne treten
unde sich rucken von der stat,
swa hin daz er sie gerne hat;
wand sente Marcus daz wiste
von gote evangeliste,
der da beschribet wol also
in sime evangelio;
daz ez ware muge gesin,
daz wart an disme heiden schin,
Wir sullen her wider wandern
und grifen an Allexandern.

Prose translation:

[789]At this time Alexander
marched with the columns of his army
to the mountains called Caspian,
with him many men and horses.
In these mountains were
the ten great hordes of the Jews
[795]captive and enslaved,
they could not come out.
They were the ten tribes,
the true Israelites.
They are also called
[800]the red Jews. They are those
with whom Gog and Magog
will break out in the last days.
Why they were enclosed
and thus imprisoned,
[805]and how they were even better enclosed
we can only tell in part here,
and we note at the beginning
that one can find it written
in the book of Kings. It happened
[810]thereafter that Jeroboam
made two golden calves,
which were to be their gods.
They worshipped them at that time.
And God has punished them for it ever since,
[815]and given them over into the hands
of the heathens in this exile.
Therefore the redness [the shame]
of the king's orders
(which they had followed) remained,
[820]and for that reason they were in the situation
that they could not, by divine decree,
leave and go elsewhere.
Now Alexander was close by
to the mountains.
[825]The prisoners therein
learned of the king's presence
and sent emissaries to him.
They addressed him with pleading words,
those from the hordes of the ten tribes,
[830]who were in the mountains.
They begged him
to let them out to wander
freely back to their land,
out from the bonds of their commanded captivity.
[835] Alexander asked

why they were thus locked up
in the harsh mountains.
They answered immediately:
"The sin was our forefathers';
long ago they were so impatient
as to turn away from the true God,
who rules over all things
and who created them.
It was Jeroboam's decision;
he had two calves made
of pure gold, and for that reason
they worshipped the calves,
and had them as idols.
That is why God has punished us
and thrown us into this misery.
Since then, and increasingly so,
we have been held captive here under the gravest orders
by the kings,
until now you have found us.
Also, God's prophets
have announced to all peoples,
and have spoken truly,
that the hordes of our ten tribes
cannot come out
until just before the Last Judgement."
Alexander answered,
saying haughtily to their messengers
"Since the God of Israel
has marked you with this shameful captivity,
as he announced concerning you
through the prophets' mouths,
and he did all this to you
on account of your wickedness,
and all my forefathers
were harsh with their commandments,
pressing you hard and driving you hither
(they were the ones who put you here),
I do not wish to undo these deeds,
as they are the will and decision
of the great God who has
in his control every living thing that bears fruit.
Rather, I will shore up
what they began so long ago,
and will suppress you even more harshly,
in accordance with their will.
I will seal you up in the mountains,
so that you can
by no means whatsoever come forth,
neither out nor in; let that [them?] be destroyed,

so that God's will is done
and stands for ever more."
Then Alexander began,
and with him the rest,
to work with all their might,
those who had come with him and those he brought,
in order to wall up
all the passages and paths
that went into the mountains.
They worked strenuously at this task;
they piled up many great boulders.
Once the work had been going on at this fast pace
for quite some time,
Alexander realized
that it was too much work
for mere humans to accomplish.
He turned to God
and said his prayer thus:
" O God, who are high above all else,
if this be your will,
that these people be enclosed here carefully
in these mountains
for their dreadful sins,
since we cannot close them up
with our human powers,
apply your might,
close this people up in the mountains,
so that they can never again
come out, this is my plea."
God heard his prayer,
and the mountains closed up
and shut themselves completely,
such that no-one might go in or out
until the time
when the Last Judgement approaches.
Then the tribes will fight their way
out of the mountains;
their fighting and attacks
will leave much of the world dead.
Concerning this matter
the master called Josephus says:
" Given that God did this great deed
through a king
who had been an unbeliever
and a heathen,
he will do even greater things
if a believer asks in prayer."
And I will add my piece to this,
I, a poor man called Unruh:

If the believer were to trust
entirely in God without any reservations whatsoever,
his prayers could
move mountains together,
and move them from their places,
to wherever he wanted them;
just as Saint Mark,
God's evangelist knew,
and as he states so well
in his gospel [Mark 16,16];
that this is true,
is proved by the example of this heathen.
Now we ought to move on,
and turn our attention back to Alexander.

6. *Konrad Steckels deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone:*[12]

a) Latin original (1320s or 1330s):

De peponibus in quibus nascuntur bestiole facte ad modum unius agni CAP. XXXI.
Aliud insuper valde mirabile dici potest, quod tamen non vidi sed audivi a personis de fide dignis. Nam dicitur quod Cadelis est unum magnum regnum, in quo sunt montes qui montes Capei[13] nominantur. Unde ut dicitur in eis nascuntur pepones valde magni, qui quando sunt maturi ipsi aperiuntur et intus invenitur una bestiola, ad modum unius agni parvi. Unde ipsi illos pepones habent et illas carniculas que sunt ibi. Et quamquam istud forte incredibile videatur, tamen ista possunt esse vera, sicut verum est quod in Ibernia sunt arbores facientes aves.

De provincia Casairon magni Canis que est ita habitata quod quando per portam unius civitatis exitur, porta alterius civitatis videtur. CAP. XXXII

De isto Catayo recedens et veniens versus ponentem seu occidentem, L dietis transeundo per multas civitates et terras veni versus terram Prestiçane, de quo non est centesima pars eius quod quasi pro certo dicitur de ipso. Eius civitas principalis Cosan vocatur, que tamen ipsa Vincencia melior civitas diceretur quam illa civitas Cosan, sua civitas principalis; multas alias civitates sub se habet. Sed semper pro pacto accipit in uxorem filiam magni Canis.

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[12]. Ed. Gilbert Strasmann (Berlin, 1968; =Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 20); Latin: 118; German: 119.

[13]. Mss. AV have "capesei"; Y has "Caspei" and Hak. has "Kapsei".

Translation:

On the Melons in which are generated little animals made in the semblance of a lamb. Chapter XXXI.
I can add yet another highly wondrous thing, which I myself however did not
see, but heard from trustworthy persons. Cadelis is said
to be a large kingdom, in which the Ca(s)pian Mountains are located. As it is said,
great melons grow there. When they are ripe,
they open and a little animal is found inside, something like a small lamb. They have these melons and other
little meats therein. And although this
seems quite incredible, yet it may well be true, just as it is true that there are in Ireland (Hibernia) trees that bring forth birds.

Concerning the province of Casairon of the Great Khan, which is so densely settled that when one goes out by the gate of one city, one can see already see the gate
of the next city. Chapter XXXII.

Leaving Cathay and travelling westward,
after a journey of fifty days through many cities and lands, I came towards the country of Prester John, who has not one percent of all that is said with so much certainty to belong to him.
His main city is called Cosan, but the city of Vicenza would be called a better city than that city of Cosan, his main city; he has many other cities
in his control. But he always accepts as a pledge (of allegiance) a daughter of the Great Khan. [...]

b) Middle High German translation (1359):

Ich han auch gehórt daselbß, aber jch han sein selber nicht gesehn, daz da selbn pey den landn jn einem grössn chvnigreich, da die perg da sein, die da haizznt Montez Caspy, da die Roten Judn jn schulln beslossn sein -- in dem selbn chvnigreich, da waksnt jnn frúcht, die man latein <haisset> peponez, vnd sind alß vnser erdópphel oder pháedenn oder melonez. Si sind aber [ ] grósser dann ein grozz kúrbis. Vnd wenn si zeitig sind, daz man si auff túet, so vindt man ein tyrlein darjnn, wol alß ein chlainez lémpel. Vnd wie ez vnglawbiich dunkcht, ez ist doch wol múglich, wann manign mann wol gewissn ist vnd auch mír, daz in Jbernia, in dem landt pey dem Schottnlantt, eczleich pawn sind, da vogel auff wachsnt, vnd die sind desselbn pawmß recht frucht, vnd wenn si nider vallent, chóment si auch auff daz wasser, so lebent si zehant vnd vliessnt, vallent si aber auff daz land, so beleibnt si tod.

Saphon

Von dem land fuer jch wol zwainczik tagwaid durich vil stett vnd gegent zwischn dez orientz gleich vnd dez occidentz gen mittentag vnd chóm in ein ch´nigreich, <deß hawptstatt haisset> Casan. Der chvnikch daselbß hat vil stett vnder jm vnd siczt mit semlichn geding gegn dem grossn hunt, daz er allczeit dez grössn húntz tochter nimpt ze einer ku'nigin.

Translation:

There I also heard, though I myself did not see it, that in that same area, in a great kingdom, where those mountains are, that are called the Caspian Mountains, in which the Red Jews are said to be enclosed -- in that same kingdom grows the fruit which is called "pepones" in Latin, and are like our turnips or cucumber or melons. They are, however, larger than a big squash. And when they are ripe enough to be opened, one finds a little animal in them, just like a little lamb. And although it seems unbelievable, it is entirely possible. as is well known to many and to me, that in Hibernia, in the country near Scotland, there are many trees in which birds grow, and they are the actual fruit of these trees, and when they fall, if they land in water, they come to life immediately and swim (float), but if they fall on land, they remain dead.

Saphon

From this land I traveled a good twenty days through many cities and regions between the abutting eastern areas and the southwest, and came to a kingdom the capital of which is called Casan. The king there has many cities in his power and has such treaty commitments to the Great Dog[14] that he always takes the daughter of the Great Dog as his queen.

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[14]. "Magnus Canis" is (mis-)translated throughout as "der grozze hunt" -- the Great Dog!

7. The middle Low German *sielen trost*, c. 1370; on the second commandment:[15]

1 32. Antichrist
Entekerst schal geboren werden to Babilonien van yodescher art van eynes patriarchen slechte, de het Dan, unde wert geboren van unechte unde wert besneden also eyn
5 yode, unde eme wert erst gegeuen eyn hillich engel, also eneme anderen menschen. Darna, wan he so vormeten wert, dat he sprekt, he sij Christus, godes sone, so vortiget syner de engel, unde de duuel vnderwyndet sijk syner. He wert weldich. Alle de yoden volgen eme. De roden yoden,
10 de besloten sin, de komet ut unde volgen eme. Se bouwen den tempel to Iherusalem wedder unde beden en an also eynen god unde spreken, he sij Christus, unde unse here Ihesus Christus dat hebbe Entekerst gewesen.

Translation:

[1] 32. Antichrist
The Antichrist shall be born in Babylon of
the Jewish people, from the lineage of a patriarch, called Dan,
and shall be born out of wedlock and circumcised like a
[5] Jew, and he will at first receive a holy angel [protective angel], just like any other human being does. Afterwards, when he is so arrogant
that he says he is Christ, God's son, the angel will disown him and the Devil will appropriate him. He shall become powerful.[16] All the Jews shall follow him. The Red
[10] Jews, who are locked up, come out and follow him. They will rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem and worship him as a god and say, he is Christ, and our Lord
Jesus Christ was the Antichrist.

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[15]. *Der Große Seelentrost*, ed. Margarete Schmitt (Cologne/Graz 1959), 65.

[16]. The word *weldich* compares to modern Dutch *geweldig*, forceful, violent.

8. The *Gesta Romanorum Das ist der Roemer Tat* (14th/15th century):[17]

1 Von dem Alexander in dem v. capitel.

Alexander der grozz kuᶜnich von Chriechen der regnocht uᶜber ellewᶜ Asischew lant zuo Orient und behabt die herschaft der werlt als man liset in der Chriechischen
5 choronik und die puocher sagent Machabeæ und der vacht mit den rotten Juden die da haizzent daz zehent geslæcht die vor mangen Jarn der kuᶜnich Salmanasar gefangen het Vnd sewᶜ satzt zuo dem gebirg caspij nach vj Jarn geschach daz der vorgenant kuᶜnich chom fuᶜr die stat da
10 dez geslechten der Juden inne wonten vnd vacht wider die stat vnd wold sy gewynnen. [...] Mit dem synne der weisen tet alexander und gewan die stat. Nu waz dez poᶜsen volks noch so vil daz alexander besorgt ir pozzhait und kniet nider wie er doch eyn haiden wær und pat got von himel
15 daz er daz poᶜz volk ungtrewez fieng mit seinem gewalt . daz geschach also daz in get erhort. Do giengen die perig in dem lande ze samen und umb gaben die roten Juden und ward ein ungengi vart von den pergen von der geschicht sprichet ein maister haizzet Josephus der Juden schreiber
20 oder prophet. Daz got erhoᶜrt hat eynen ungelaubhaftigen menschen . und eynn heiden als alexander waz. Waz tuot er dann zuo ent der werlt. Wann daz selb volk chumt mit irem antichrist auz und marternt die læut so tuot er groᶜssers zaichen durch seinen willen. Also tempfet got
25 daz hochfertig volkh mit alexandro dem kuᶜnig und mit dem rat der weisen maister. Ez ist pillaich daz eyn wider spæniges volkh und hochfertigez uᶜber hert werd . und uᶜberweist mit eynem andern. Dar umb liezz got den kuᶜnich alexander so gewaltig werden daz die poᶜsen wurden
30 gestraft mit im . als der weis man sprach in dem puoch Job. *Qui regnare facit ypocricam propter peccata populorum*. Got verhengt daz ein wuᶜtreich reichsent und tuot daz durch der læut suᶜndt daz si werden gestraft und gepessert.

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[17]. Ed. Adalbert Keller (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1841; =Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur, 22), 9-10.

Translation:

[1] Concerning Alexander in the fifth chapter.
Alexander the Great, king of the Greeks, reigned over all Asian lands in the Orient and had mastery of the whole world, as we read in the Greek [5] chronicle and in the books called 'The Maccabees' and he fought with the Red Jews who are called the ten tribes whom king Salmanasar took captive many years ago, and placed them in the Caspian Mountains. After six years it came to pass that the aforementioned king came before the [10] city where the tribes of the Jews lived and besieged the city and desired to take it.
[Alexander conquers the basilisk on the walls with a great mirror.]
Alexander followed the advice of the wise men and conquered the city. Now there were still so many of the wicked people that Alexander was concerned about their wickedness and kneeled down, even though he was a pagan, [15] and begged God in heaven to take the wicked faithless people into his power. This happened in such a way that they [incomprehensible]. Then the mountains in that land came together and surrounded the Red Jews and the path out of the mountains became impassable. A master called [20] Josephus, the scribe or prophet of the Jews, says concerning this story: God heard an unbeliever and a heathen such as Alexander. What then will he do at the end of the world, when this same people breaks out with their Antichrist and martyrs the people [Christians], he will do great signs. Thus God humbled this arrogant [25] people by means of Alexander the king and the advice of the wise men. It is fitting that a rebellious and arrogant people be oppressed and be sujected to another. For this reason, God allowed king Alexander to become so [30] powerful that the wicked were punished by him, as the wise man says in the book of Job: *Qui regnare facit ypocricam propter peccata populorum*. God lets a tyrant rule on account of the people's sins, and does this so that they may be punished and corrected.

9. Gerhard Sprenger's mid-fifteenth-century compilation of fourteenth-century Zurich *Jahrbücher*:[18]

Man prant die juden in allen landen von des grôzen tôdes wegen.

Anno domini MCCCxljx dô gieng der grôz mortlich liumd ûz von den juden, daz si alliu wazzer, diu man vergiften mocht, ez wærint [Fol. 31 a.] brunnen oder bäch, vergift hætint. Diu selbe gift des êrsten von den rotten juden kam, und was vermêret, als man sait, mit unken, und was als unrain, swelichez mensche mit der gift versêret ward, daz lept nit lenger denne an den dritten tag, und kam darzuo daz kain priester zuo den siechen liuten gaun wolte, und flôch menniglich von den siechen, wann daz man in etlichen stetten knecht kostlich gewinnen muost, die die liut zuo kilchen trüegent, sô si êrst gesturben, und ze hand begrüebent. Diser siechtag was als giftig, swenne ain gesund mensche dem siechen in die næchi kam, daz ez autem oder tunst von dem siechen angieng, oder sîn gewand beruorte, daz muoste sterben. Und gieng von aim an daz ander, alsô daz ganze dörfer, gazzen und hiuser oede stuondent, und was der groest tôd und daz ungehôrtôst sterben in allen landen, daz man von anvang der welt ûf ain zît allenthalben je vernam. Und huob zuo dem êrsten an ennet dem mer, dar nâch kam ez in welschiu land, dar nâch in alliu tiutschen land. Alsô wurdent die juden in allen landen verbrant, bî nâch alle juden, die gewâchsent wârent; vil kind wurdent getöuft und behalten, Alsô wurdent die juden verderpt von ir grôzen ungehôrten mordes wegen, und nit mit unredlicher sache. Des selben jârs wurdent alle juden im Elsauz verbrant im Jenner, und ze Zürich umbe Sant Mathîs tag ouch des selben jârs, als dâ vor staut.

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[18]. *Die beiden ältesten deutschen Jahrbücher der Stadt Zürich*, ed. Ludwig Ettmüller (Zürich, 1844; =Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, II), 35-96. The first part of the first *Jahrbuch* was written by an anonymous who breaks off his narrative with the year 1336. It is continued to the year 1446 by the compiler Gerhard Sprenger of Constance, who was a canon at Embrach at the time of the Council of Constance (1414-1418). This entry, for the year 1349, is found on pages 71 and 72. The manuscripts used by Ettmüller, from the Bürgerbibliothek at Zurich, date from the fifteenth century and are written on paper.

Translation:

[1] The Jews were burnt in all countries on account of the Great Death

In the year of our Lord 1349 the great murderous rumour went out concerning the Jews that they had poisoned all [5] the waters that could be poisoned, whether springs or streams. This same poison first came from the red Jews, and it was strengthened,[19] they say, with serpents [their venom],[20] and was so foul and devilish,[21] that any person touched by this poison could live no longer than three [10] days. In addition, no priest wanted to go to the sick people, and many fled from the sick, such that in many cities it was very expensive to hire serving-men who would carry people to the church[yard] as soon as they had died and bury them right away. This sickness was so [15] poisonous that when a healthy person came close enough to a sick one to be touched by the breath or miasma of that sick person, or touched his garment, he was sure to die. And it went from one [person] to the next, in such a way that entire villages, streets and houses stood [20] empty and waste, and it was the greatest death and the most unheard-of dying in all countries that was ever reported from the beginning of the world until the present day. And it started out at the end of the sea [the Mediterranean?], then it came to the Romance countries, and then to all the German lands. Thus, the Jews were burnt in all countries, nearly all the adult [25] Jews; many children were baptized and adopted. Therefore the Jews were smashed because of the great murder they had committed, and not without just cause. In the same year all the Jews of Alsace were burnt, in January, and at Zurich around St. Matthew's Day in the same year as [30] noted above.

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[19]. *vermêren* can be understood in the sense of *meren*, which in the early modern High German dialects meant *abstimmen*, to adjust, to suit: Alfred Götze, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar* (Berlin, 1912/1967[7]), 158; or Middle German to mix (*Idem*). In middle High German *méren* meant to augment, increase, heighten: Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch* (Stuttgart, 1983[37]), 138.

[20]. *Unken* are serpents or basilisks.

[21]. Concerning the use of *unrain* in the *Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg*, cf. the discussion in chapter III.

10. From the "Chronik des Burkhard Zink (1368-1468)":[2]

"...der [Dauphin Louis] was nun kommen biß gen Mumpelgarten wol mit 20000 mannen, unter den waren, als man sagt, bei 500 rott juden; auch waren darbei graff von Armiack wol mit 1000 mannen. man sagt, daß die großen juden und auch die Armiacken die allerbösten leut und auch die unbarmhertzigsten leut wären, die auf erden mugen sein..."

Translation:

[1] [Louis, later Louis XI] had arrived at Mömpelgard [Montbéliard] with 20,000 men, among whom were, they say, about 500 red Jews; the Count of Armagnac was also there with 1,000 men. They say that [5] the big Jews and the Armagnacs are the most evil people on earth and the cruelest people that ever might live on earth.

A footnote after "1000 mannen" reads: "Am 19. Aug. 1444 zog der Dauphin in Mömpelgard ein [...]. Nach andern Nachrichten war die Schar der Söldner weit größer als Zink angiebt. [...] Das "Lied oder Cantilen von den Armen Jecken" in der Chronik des Maternus Berler S. 62 wirft dem Delphin vor: "Du hast die juden in dinner hutt, Deß soltu dich nun schammen. (You protect the Jews/You ought to be ashamed of yourself)."

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[2]. In: *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, V (Leipzig, 1866; =Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg, II), 174.

11. a) From the chiroxylographic print of *Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen* (c. 1450):[13]

fol. 6ʳ, b
Der Endkrist sendet aus sein poten zu predigen und
zu verkünden aller werld das er warer got messias auff
ertreich kumen sey. das wirt aller werld kund gethan.

fol. 7ʳ, b
Aber ein ander pot predigt der kunigin von amason vnd
den Roten Juden. dy der gros kunig allexander in den ge=
pirgen Caspie beslossen het. dy kumen aus zu des end=
kristes zeyten als sanctus Jeronimus schreibet.

fol. 7ᵛ, a
Einer des endkrists poten predigt aber der kristenhait
das der war got messias auff erden komen se¨ vnd also ist
sein zukunfft verkundet aller kristenhait allen Juden
und hayden.

fol. 7ᵛ, b
NU hebt sich an der zuczug von aller werld vnd von allen
küngen zu dem endkrist dy an in glauben wellen des ersten
brechen dy Roten Juden aus und tun der werld gros not
und sy haissen gog vnd magog und ir zehen gescheht.[14]
und zewcht dy kungin von Amason auch zu dem endkrist.

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[13]. *Faksimile-Ausgabe des einzig erhaltenen chiroxylographischen Blockbuches*, ed. H. Th. Musper, 2 vols. (Munich, 1970).

[14]. A scribal error for "geschleht" (Geschlecht, tribe).

b) The first typographical edition of the popular Antichrist book (Strasbourg, 1480):[25]

fol. 1

[1] Hye hebt sich an von dem Enndkrist genomen und geczogen usz vil büchern. wie und von wem er geborn soll werden. Der erst anhaḃ ist wie jacob der [5] erst patriarch als er sterben sollt / Sin zwolf sün fur sich berüffte und in sinen segen wolt geben do sagt er sunderlich dem das im kunftig wer. Do er kam an sin dun der hiesz dan / do sprach er diß wort; Dan richt sin volck [10] als ander geschlecht von Jerusalem. Dan werde coluber an dem weg / Cerestes in dem pfat bissen die rosz hinden / das syn uffsiczer hinder sich fallend. Dise wort sint bediten in dem bůch das do heisset Compendium Theologie / und spricht also: billich glichet man den Endkrist der slangen die do heisset cerestes / wan die slang ist [15] solcher natur das sy wartet ritten der lüt und hat vier horner als widers horner. Und mit einem horn fellet er und leczt das rosz und die lütte und mit den andern horner tůt er andern dingen ouch schaden das alles gar lang zů schriben wer. Ouch glechet man billich den Enndkrist der slangen coluber wan die ist gern und von [20] art an den schatten. Des Endkristes tůn und lassen ist ouch alwegen uff die vinsternis / und uff die unworheit gericht. und als die slang cerestes mit iren vier horner schedlich ist. Also ist der Enndkrist schedlich uff vier weg und verheist und verfůrt ouch die lüt in virerley wisz. Item mit guter gelerter red die er und sin botten kun- [25]nen. Item mit vil grossen zeichen. Item mit gob und mit grossem gůt. Item zům virden mal mit grosser marter dy er den lütten an důt die an in nit wollen glouben. Do von stet geschriben in dem ewangelio mathei / Solch iamer und not würt in der zyt mer den vor ny gewesen noch geschehen ist Es were dan das die tag ge- [30]kurczt wurden Es wurden nit alle menschen behalten Das geschicnt don von gottes usserwelten wegen.

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[25]. *Der Antichrist. Faksimile der ersten typographischen Ausgabe* (Hamburg, 1979). The text has been rendered in modern German by Karin Boveland in the companion volume, *Der Antichrist und Die Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht.* Kommentarband zum Faksimile der ersten typographischen Ausgabe eines unbekannten Straßburger Druckers, um 1480 (Hamburg, 1979), 7-13.

fol. 2
[1] Hie sitzet des Enndkrists vatter und wirbet umb synn lipliche dochter in üppickeit / die ime als denn gefo'lgigk wirt / und wirt des enndkrists swannger.

fol. 3, a
[1] Jacob sag seinem sun. Dan / Was im künftig wurde. mit disen worten also. Dan wirt sein volck richten / als ander geschlecht von ierusalem. Dan wirt coluber an dem weg. Cerestes in dem pfadt. Als da zů nechst vor geschriben ist. und uf die wort sprach er. her [5] ich byt dich heiles.

fol. 3, b
[1] Hye wirt der Enndkrist enpfangen in můter leib durch die kraft des teufls der in füret / und erfullet alles ubels und aller poshait / Und ain vater beschlaft sein tochter. Und der selb ist des Enndkrist vater.

fol. 4, a
[1] Der Enndkrist wirt geborn in einer stat genant grosz babilonie Und er würt aller untugent und bosheit vol. Wenn der tüfel tůt alles sin vermügen dar zů. Und das weyst das bůch / das da heist Compendium Theologie. in dem sibenden Capitel.

fol. 4, b
[1] Hye würt der Enndkrist sich under stan der unkeüsch und unordenlicher lieb der frowen / und das geschicht in der stat Bethsayda. Also sagt ouch Compendium. Und unser herr flůcht der selben stat / in dem ewangelio / Do er spricht wee dir Bethsayda.

fol. 5, a
[1] Czu ierusalem lot sich der Ennkrist beschniden / noch der alten ee. und er spricht zů den juden. Er sey messias der in verheissen sy. Des sy alslang gewartet haben. Und das stot ouch in Compendio. Und so er sich der gotheit an nymbt / so scheitet sich der [5] gůt engel von im. Und das seit die gloss Appocalipsis.

fol. 5, b
[1] Hye hebent die juden den Tempel Salomonis zů ierusalem wider an zu bůen. Der vor zyten czerstö'rt wart / von den romischen keisern Tyto und Vespasiano. Und die juden sprechen / ir got sy kumen. Das stet in Compendio. In dem achten bůch des siben- [5]den capitels.

fol. 6, a
[1] Der Enndkrist hat by im meister die in lerent gold machen und ander zoberey und besz list. Und das geschicht in der stat Corosaym. Und das stet ouch geschriben in Compendio Theologie. Und unser herr flůcht der selben stat ouch in dem ewangelio / Do [5] er spricht wee dir Corosaym.

fol. 6, b
[1] Hye get der Enndkrist von Capharnaym / gen ierusalem. Und do von stet geschriben in dem bůch Compendio Theologie . Und unser herr flůcht der selben stat ouch in dem ewangelio / und spricht also we dir Caphar-[5]naym.

fol. 7, a
[1] zwischen des Enndkrist heimlicher zůkunft. Und siner offenlichen offenbarung so kument Helias und Enoch usz dem paradys und sind trů jor wider den Enndkrist predigen. Das stet ouch geschriben in Compendio Theologie. in dem sibenden bůch. in [5] dem eilften capitel.

fol. 7, b
[1] Hye predigt der prophet Helias wider den Enndkrist. Der heiligen kristenheit. Und er ist gekleidet mit sack tůch / zů einem zeichen grosz dyemutigkeit. Und das seit das bůch der tugent.

fol. 8, a
[1] Hye predigt der ander prophet Enoch der kristenheit. Und ist [sic] die warnen vor des Enndkrist posheit. Und er ist ouch gekleidet mit sacktůch. Das stet ouch geschriben in dem bůch der tugend.

fol. 8, b
[1] Der Enndkrist zerstoert die gesacz als ver er mag. Wen er wirt wonen an den stetten do unser herr gewont hat. Und das stet ouch geschriben in Compendio Theologie. in dem sibenden bůch an dem achtzehenden Capitel.

fol. 9, a
[1] Hye vahet der Enndkrist an ein nuwe iere zů predigen / und ein nuws gesaczt. Und das ist die erst wys / da mit er die welt betrugt / mit guter red die er kan. Und das sagt ouch das vorgenant Compendium in dem sibenden capitel.

fol. 9, b
[1] Hye vahet an der Enndkrist die ander wys / da mit er die welt verfürt. Das ist mit grossen zeichen. Er erweckt die windt. Und heist sich das mer ufheben / und wider nider lossen. das sagt ouch das bůch Compendium in dem sibenden bůch in dem nünten ca- [5]pitel. Und ouch die gloss Appocalipsis.

fol. 10, a
[1] Der Enndkrist heist die türren boum pluen / und bald wider dorren. Und enndert er des luffcz natur. Das stat ouch geschriben im Compendio Theologie.

fol. 10, b
[1] Der Enndkrist tůt hie aber zeichen. Er heist einen risen us einem ey schliffen. Und ein burck an einem faden hangen. Und einen hirczen us einem stein springen.

fol. 11, a
[1] Der Enndkrist heysset die juden bezeichen an die stirn. und uff die rechten hand / zů einem zeichen das sy an in glouben. das stet geschriben in Appocalipsi johannis in Compendio septimo.

fol. 11, b
[1] Dre [sic] Enndkrist sentet usz sinen boten zů predigen und zů verkünden aller welt das er worer got und messias uff erden kumen sy. Und das würt aller welt kundt geton.

fol. 12, a
[1] Hye predigt einer des Enndkrist pot dem kunig von Egypten und allem sinem lannd. Als das geschriben stet in der glosz uber danielem das er des ersten under sich bringet dise noch geschriben dry kung.

fol. 12, b
[1] Ein ander des Endkrist pot predigt dem kung von libie und den sinen. Von sinem got messias. das er an in gloub. Wan er als der wor messias und als worer got uff erden kumen sy.

fol. 13, a
[1] Aber ein ander des Endkrist pot. predigt dem kunig von moren land. wie der wor messias und got uff erden kumen sy. Und das er genczlich an in glouben solle.

fol. 13, b
[1] Aber ein ander des Enndkrist pot predigt der kunigin

von Amason / und den roten juden. die der groß allexander in den gebyrgen Caspie beschlossen het. Und die selben juden kumen usz zů des Enndkrist zyten / als sanctus Jeronimus beschribt.

fol. 14, a
[1] Aber einer des Enndkriscz pot predigt der Cristenheit. Wie der wor got und messias uf erdt kumen sey. vnd also ist sin zůkunft verkindet aller Cristenheit. ouch allen Juden. und heyden.

fol. 14, b
[1] Nun hebt sich an der zůczug von aller welt. Und von allen kunigen zuo dem Enndkrist / die an in glouben wellen. Des ersten prechen die roten juden usz. und tuond der welt gross not. vnd die selben Juden heissen gog. vnd magog. und ir zehen geschlecht. [5] Und die kunigin von Amason zůcht ouch zů dem Enndkrist.

fol. 15, a
[1] Der kunig von Egypten. Der kunig von Libie. Und der kunig von moren land kumen mit grossem volck zů dem Enndkrist als in dan von im verkundet und gepredig ist.

fol. 15, b
[1] Der Enndkrist gibt gold und silber allen den die an in glouben und das ist der drit weg. do durch er vil volcksz an sich bringet. Das stet ouch geschriben in Compendio Theologie.

fol. 16, a
[1] Der Enndkrist tůt aber zeichen und zoubry. und heist ein Sül red und enwürt geben. alles des man sy fragt. und tůt das durch die kunst Ars magica. das stet ouch in Compendio Theologie In appocalipsi Septimo.

fol. 16, b
[1] Der kunig von Egypten. Und der kunig von Moren lannd. und alle die / die in iren landen sin. die werden bezeichent durch heissen des Enndkrist an der stirnen und uff der rechten hand.

fol. 17, a
[1] Der kunig von Libie wil nit willig sin an den Enndkrist zů gelouben. Er heisz im den sin vater und můter uff sten von dem tod. und das tůt der Enndkrist. und das ist ein stuck der vierden wysz. do mit er die welt verkert. das ist mit grossen zeichen. Und das stet [5] in Comperdio Theologie libro septimo. Capitulo nono.

fol. 17, b
[1] Als der kunig von Libie und sin volck geloubig wart. Hiesz der Enndkrist den kunig. und alles sin volck bezeichen an die stiren und uff die rechten hand.

fol. 18, a
[1] Des Enndkrist boten bringen zů irem herren allerley lüt. Pfaffen Munich. Frowen. Herren. Ritter und knecht. Burger. Bůren und ander lüt. Und alle die / die an in und an sin lerre gelouben wellen.

fol. 18, b
[1] Hye bringt man gefangen fur den Enndkrist. alle die / die an in nit gelouben wellen.

fol. 19, a
[1] Der Enndkrist heisset alle die martern die nit an in gelůben wellen mit vil frömder marter. die vor nie mer gesehen sint. Und das ist die fünft wisz syner verkerung Do von stet ouch geschriben in compendio.

fol. 19, b
[1] Do verbergen sich die lüt von forcht wegen der marter. aber der hunger tribt sy wider herfür. so gibt man in nichcz czů kouffen. sy sygen den gezeichent mit des. Enndkrist zeichen. Und alsz denne růget ein brůder den andren. und ein schwester die ander. Das [5] seit das ewangilium.

fol. 20, a
[1] Hie syzet der Ennkrist [sic] in siner öbristen maiestet. Und erhöcht sich uber al götter. und uber alles das. das got zů gehört. Und er schilt got. Das stet geschriben in Compendio und in Appocalipsis.

fol. 20, b
[1] Der. Enndkrist heisset die heiligen. Propheten. Helyam und Enoch zů iherusalem zů tod schlahen. und do selbs ligen sy vierd halben tag unbegraben. Das sy niemant getar begraben. Das stet In appocalipsis.

fol. 21, a
[1] Die lerer werden denn unwert. und bredigt keiner mer. Darnach werden denn die heiligen propheten / durch die engel gottes von dem tod erwecket. Helyas und. Enoch. Und das erhören denn die / die sy zů tod geschlagen haben. In Compendio Theologie.

fol. 21, b
[1] Der Enndkrist vellt nider alsz ob er tod sy. und schlofft durch zouber list. Also das all fürsten. und herren und menigklich meint er sy tod. und heben denn an zů klagen und zů schryen umb iren herren.

fol. 22, a
[1] Der Enndkrist erstet an dem dritten tag. Und spricht zů den fürsten und herren. und zů allem anderm volck. Secht das ich worer got und mensch byn. Und alsdann so knuwen sy für in nider und betten in an.

fol. 22, b
[1] Der Endkrist macht durch die krafft des tu'fels und durch zouberig das feür von hymel vellet uff syn junger. des überheben sy sich denn und sprechen sy syn besser dann die junger unsers herren cristi ihesu die den heiligen geist enpfiengen.

fol. 23
[1] Der Enndkrist berüfft all fürsten herren. Christen heiden. Juden und all ander die an in geloben. und heist die kumen zů dem berg Oliveti. und spricht er welle uff gen hymel faren.

fol. 24
[1] Der Enndkrist heist sich die tüfel uff füren. So schlecht in unser herr mit dem geist sins mundes. Und spricht die glosz uber Appocalipsis an dem xiii capitel. Michael schlach in zů tod. Wan ich wil des unrechten nit lenger vertragen. In compendio theologie.

fol. 25
[1] Dar nach so füren die tůfel den Enndkrist in die hell. Wann syn erster anfang ist von des tůfelsz rod und ynplosung.

fol. 26
[1] So der Enndkrist erschlagen wirt. So sprechen sin diener sy haben weder got noch herren. und leben den suntlich und noch lust des leibs doch werden in verlihen xxv tag. Ob sy wellen ruwe enpfahen Das stet ouch geschriben in Compendio theologie.

fol. 27
[1] So der Enndkrist syn leben in aller bosheit vollendet und ein bo'sz end genomen hat So kumen denn aber durch die verhencknüsz gottes. Die heiligen propheten Helyas

und Enoch. und predigen cristenlichen [5] geluoben [!] in den landen dorynn der. Enndkrist obgelegen ist. und bekeren fürsten und herren und alle mencklih das sy all cristen werden Und wirt denn nit mer denn ein geluob. Alsz die geschrifft inhelt. Erit unus pastor et unum ovile. Und ist denn niemansz sicher / wenn der jungstag kunt [sic]. Wenn man fo°rchtet in als [10] vast. Das der buman sins pflůges sins vieches / und syner kleider uff dem felld vergisst und heim loufft. und fo°rcht in begriff der Jungstag uff dem vellde. Und die geschrifft seyt. Das unser here die tag darnach kürcze von siner userwelten wegen. Wenn sy villicht von übriger not und forcht wegen widerumb in ein bo°sen unge- [15]louben vallen mo°chten in Compendio Theologie.

Translation of the *Antichrist* book:

[1] [1] Here begins the story of the Antichrist, taken and drawn from many books, how and when he will be born. Our first concern is what Jacob, the [5] first patriarch, did when he was about to die. He called together his twelve [5] sons to give them his blessing, and told each one in particular what the future held for him. When he came to his son called Dan, he said these words: "Dan shall judge his people [10] as one of the tribes of Israel. Let Dan be a viper on the road, a horned adder in the [10] path, that bites the horse's fetlock, so that the rider tumbles backward."[26] These words are interpreted in the book called the Compendium of Theology, as follows: it is fitting to compare the Antichrist to the snake called cerastes (adder), for it is [15] the nature of this serpent to lie in wait for travellers on horseback. It [15] has four horns like the horns of a ram. With one of these horns it attacks the horse and human beings, and with the others it causes damage to other things, all of which would take too long to describe. It is also fitting to compare the Antichrist to the snake called coluber, for it prefers, according to its [20] nature, to spend time [20] in shaded places. The activities of the Antichrist are also constantly directed toward darkness and untruth. And just as the snake cerastes, with its four horns, is dangerous, so the Antichrist presents a fourfold danger making promises and seducing people in four ways: first, [25] with well-spoken and learned words, in which he and his messengers excel; [25] second, with many marvelous signs and portents; third, with gifts and great riches; fourth, with horrible tortures which he inflicts on people who refuse to believe in him. The Gopsel of Matthew says, [30] concerning this time: "It will be a time of great distress; there has never been such a time from the beginning of the world until now, and will never be again. If that time of troubles were not cut short, [30] no living thing could survive; but for the sake of God's chosen it will be cut short."[27]

[35] [fol. 2; 1] Here sits the father of the Antichrist, courting his own daughter in fleshly lust. She does what he wants and becomes pregnant with the Antichrist.

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[26]. Genesis 49,16-17.

[27]. Matthew 24,21-22.

[fol. 3,a; 1] Jacob tells his son Dan what the future will bring, with these words: Dan shall judge his people [40] as one of the tribes of Israel. Let Dan be a coluber on the road, a cerastes in the path. As has already been noted. And after these words he said "For thy salvation [5] I wait in hope, O Lord."[28]

[fol. 3,b; 1] Here the Antichrist is conceived in his [45] mother's womb by the power of the Devil who leads him and fills him with all evil and all wickedness. A father sleeps with his daughter; he is the the father of the Antichrist.

[fol. 4,a; 1] The Antichrist will be born in a city called 'Great Babylon', and he will be full of all vices [50] and wickedness, for the Devil uses his entire might for the task. And this is shown by the book that is called the Compendium of Theology, in the seventh chapter.

[fol. 4,b; 1] Here the Antichrist devotes his attention to unchaste and promiscuous coupling with women, in the [55] city of Bethsaida. Thus says the Compendium as well. And our Lord curses that city in the Gospel, when he says "Woe to you, Bethsaida".[29]

[fol. 5,a; 1] In Jerusalem the Antichrist has himself circumcised according to the old law, and says to the [60] Jews that he is the Messiah promised to them, for whom they have waited for so long. And this is also in the Compendium. And when he dares to claim to be God, his [5] good angel leaves him, as the Gloss on the Apocalypse says.

[fol. 5,b; 1] Here the Jews begin to rebuild the Temple [65] of Solomon at Jerusalem, which was destroyed many ages ago by the Roman emperors Titus and Vespasian. And the Jews will say that their God has come. This is in the Compendium, in the eighth book of the seventh [5] chapter.

[fol. 6,a; 1] The Antichrist has in his following [70] masters who teach him how to make gold and to perform other sorceries and evil craft. And this happens in the city of Chorazin. And this is also written in the

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[28]. Genesis 49,18.

[29]. Luke 10,13.

Compendium of Theology. And our Lord curses the same city in the Gospel, when [5] he says "Woe to you, Chorazin."[30]

[75] [fol. 6,b; 1] Here the Antichrist goes down from Capernaum toward Jerusalem. The Compendium of Theology also has something to say about this. And the Lord also curses this same city in the Gospel, saying "Woe to you, [5] Capernaum".[31]

[80] [fol. 7,a; 1] Between the secret advent of the Antichrist and his public appearance, Elijah and Enoch come out of Paradise to preach against the Antichrist for three years. This is also written in the Compendium of Theology, in the seventh book, in [5] the eleventh [85] chapter.

[fol. 7,b; 1] Here the prophet Elijah preaches to holy Christendom against the Antichrist. And he is clothes in sack-cloth. This is written in the Book of Virtue.

[90] [fol. 8,a; 1] Here the other prophet, Enoch, is preaching to Christendom, [and is; misprint] to warn them of the Antichrist's wickedness. And he is also clothed in sack-cloth. This is also written in the Book of Virtue.

[fol. 8,b; 1] The Antichrist destroys the Law so far as [95] he is able, in order to take the place that our Lord occupied. And this is written in the Compendium of Theology, in the seventh book, in the eighteenth chapter.

[fol. 9,a; 1] Here the Antichrist begins to preach a new doctrine and a new law. And this is the first way in [100]which he deceives the world with well-chosen words, as he is able to do. And the aforementioned Compendium says this in the seventh chapter.

[fol. 9,b; 1] Here the Antichrist begins to practice the second means by which he deceives the world, that is with [105]marvelous signs and portents. He stirs up the winds, and orders the sea to rise up and go down again. The book called the Compendium also says this in the seventh book, in the ninth [5] chapter, as well as the Gloss of the Apocalypse.

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[30]. Luke 10,13.

[31]. Luke 10,15: "And as for you Capernaum, will you be exalted to the skies? No, brought down to the depths!"

[fol. 10,a; 1] The Antichrist makes barren trees bloom,
[110]and dry out again quickly, and he changes the nature of the air. This is also written in the Compendium of Theology.

[fol. 10,b; 1] Here the Antichrist works more signs. He causes a giant to hatch from an egg, and a fortress to hang from a thread, and a hart to leap out of a stone.

[115][fol. 11,a; 1] The Antichrist has the Jews marked on the forehead and the right hand, as a sign that they believe in him. This is written in the Apocalypse of John in the seventh book of the Compendium.

[fol. 11,b; 1] The Antichrist sends out his emissaries
[120]to preach and to announce to the entire world that he, the true God and Messiah, has come to earth. This is announced to the whole world.

[fol. 12,a; 1] Here an apostle of the Antichrist preaches to the king of Egypt and all of his land, as it is
[125]written in the Gloss on Daniel, to bring (him and) the three kings described in the following passages under his power as his first vassals.

[fol. 12,b; 1] Another ambassador of the Antichrist preaches to the king of Libya and his people concerning his God, the Messiah, to convert the king to faith in the Antichrist, because he has come as the true Messiah and
[130]true God on earth.

[fol. 13,a; 1] But another of the Antichrist's apostles preaches to the king of the land of the Moors that the true Messiah and God has come to earth, and that he should believe in him without reservation.

[fol. 13,b; 1] And another emissary (of the Antichrist)
[135]preaches to the Queen of the Amazons and to the Red Jews whom king Alexander enclosed in the Caspian Mountains. These same Jews will come out at the time of the Antichrist, as St. Jerome writes.

[fol. 14,a; 1] And one of the Antichrist's emissaries
[140]preaches to Christendom that the true God and Messiah has come to earth, and thus his arrival is announced to all of Christendom, all the Jews and the heathen.

[fol. 14,b; 1] Now begins an ingathering from all over the world and of all the kings who decide to believe in

him. First of all the Red Jews break out and fiercely attack the whole world, and these Jews are called Gog and Magog and their ten tribes. And the Queen of the Amazons also joins the Antichrist.

[fol. 15,a; 1] The king of Egypt, the king of Libya and the king of the land of the Moors come with a great following to the Antichrist, in accordance with what they have heard concerning him in sermons and preaching.

[fol. 15,b; 1] The Antichrist distributes gold and silver to all who believe in him. This is the third means by which he attracts many people to his side. This is also written in the Compendium of Theology.

[fol. 16,a; 1] The Antichrist also works signs and sorcery. He makes a column answer any question put to it, which he does through the magical arts. This is also written in the Compedium of Theology in the section on Revelation 7.

[fol. 16,b; 1] The king of Egypt, the king of the land of the Moors and all their subjects are marked by order of the Antichrist on the forehead and on the right hand.[12]

[fol. 17,a; 1] The king of Libya is not willing to believe in the Antichrist unless he makes his father and mother rise from the dead. And the Antichrist does so. This is an example of the fourth means by which he subverts the order of the world, that is, with marvelous signs. And this is in [5] the Compendium of Theology, book seven, chapter nine.

[fol. 17,b; 1] After the king of Libya and his people put their faith in the Antichrist, he has the king and all his people marked on the forehead and on the right hand.

[fol. 18,a; 1] The Antichrist's messengers bring all manner of people to their master: priests, monks, ladies, lords, knights and varlets, burghers and peasants, and other people, as well as all those who choose to believe in him and his teachings.

[fol. 18,b; 1] Here all those who do not want to believe

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12. A reference to Rev. 13,16-17; Rev. 7,3-4 speaks of the seal placed on foreheads of God's servants.

in the Antichrist are brought in chains before him.
[fol. 19,a; 1] The Antichrist orders the martyrdom of all
[180]those who will not believe in him with many outlandish
tortures never seen before or ever again after. And this
is the fifth means by which he works his perversion of
the world. This is also described in the Compendium.

[fol. 19,b; 1] Then these people hide for fear of a
hideous death, but hunger drives them forth again. They
[185]are not allowed to buy anything unless they are marked
with the sign of the Antichrist. At this time, brother
accuses brother and sister accuses sister. Thus [5] says
the Gospel.

[fol. 20,a; 1] Here the Antichrist sits in his highest
[190]majesty, and raises himself up above all other gods, and
above everything that belongs to God. And he blasphemes
against God. This is written in the Compendium and in
Revelation.

[fol. 20,b; 1] The Antichrist orders the saintly prophets
Elijah and Enoch to be murdered at Jerusalem. And there
[195]they lay unburied for three-and-a-half days, as no-one
dares to bury them. This is in Revelation.

[fol. 21,a; 1] The teachers lose all esteem, and none of
them preaches any more. Then the saintly prophets, Elijah
and Enoch are resuscitated by angels of God. And this is
[200]made known to those who murdered them. [This is] in the
Compendium of Theology.

[fol. 21,b; 1] The Antichrist falls down as if he were
dead, and sleeps by magical means, so that all princes
and lords and everyone else thinks he is dead. Then they
[205]begin to lament and scream over their lord.

[fol. 22,a; 1] On the third day, the Antichrist awakens
and says to the princes and lords, and to all the rest
of the people: See now that I am the true God and a human
being!" And they kneel down right away and worship him.

[210][fol. 22,b; 1] The Antichrist uses magic and the power
of the Devil to make fire to fall from heaven on his
disciples. This causes them to brag that they are better
than the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, who received
the [inspiration of] the Holy Spirit.

[215][fol. 23; 1] The Antichrist call together all princes,
lords, Christians and heathens, Jews and all others who

believe in him, and orders them to make their way to the Mount of Olives, saying he plans to ascend to heaven.

[fol. 24; 1] The Antichrist orders the devils to carry [220]him aloft. And our Lord blasts him with the Spirit of His mouth. The Gloss to Revelation 13 says 'Michael, kill him, for I will tolerate injustice no longer'. Thus says the Compendium of Theology.

[fol. 25; 1] Thereupon the devils take the Antichrist off [225]to Hell, for he was created by the Devil's counsel and inspiration.

[fol. 26; 1] After the Antichrist is destroyed, his disciples say that they have neither God nor lord, and live sinfully according to the lusts of their flesh. But [230]they are given twenty-five days in case they might yet regret their sins. This is also written in the Compendium of Theology.

[fol. 27; 1] After the Antichrist has ended his life in utter wickedness and found a bad end, God sends the [235]prophets Elijah and Enoch to preach the Christian [5] faith in all the lands that had submitted to the Antichrist, and they convert princes and lords and everyone else, so that they all become Christians, and there is only one faith in all the world, as Scripture says: "There will be one shepherd and one [240]flock". And then no-one knows for certain when Judgment Day will come, for it is feared to be so [10] close that the peasant leaves his plough, his livestock and his clothes in the field and runs home for fear that Judgment Day will overtake him in the fields. And Scripture says [245]that our Lord will shorten the days that follow for the sake of his chosen ones, for they might otherwise fall back into wicked [15] disbelief on account of excessive misery and terror, as the Compendium of Theology says.

12. Victor von Carben, *Judenbüchlein*:[13]

fol. D iiii^{v}

... Fragstu einen Juden er sey jung oder alt / uff wen verlaßt ir euch Juden / das ir so hart und trutzig seind / dieweil ir doch secht das ewer Küniglich gewalt mit aller seligkeyt vergangen ist / auch in aller welt keyn a^{c}rmer und verlaßner volck dann ir seidt / antworten sye und sprechen / wir hand in anderen landen noch künig und obersten / so fragstu dann wo unnd in was landen habt ir die / ich bin so in manchen landen geweßt / und hab nye von keyner herrschafft noch gewalt die ir ko^{c}ndt oder mo^{c}gt gehaben geho^{c}rt. Antwurt der Jud. Wir haben noch einen Künig uff jenseidt Babylonien in dem gebirg Kaspion / welcher noch von dem geschlecht Juda ist / die selben Juden seind die rodten Juden unnd starcken / welcher so vil mehr dann alle Christen in der gantzen Christenheyt seindt, als vil yetzundt ewer Christen mehr dann unser seindt / als ir dann wol mercken mo^{c}cht / dann von dem xii. geschlecht Israhel nit mehr dann zwey / das seindt die geschlecht Ruben / unnd Gad herauß kommen seindt / von welichen alle dise la^{c}nder erfült seindt. Numeri xxxii. Darbey ist wol zů mercken wie groß die menig der x. geschlecht sein můß / die do enthalten werden die uns noch wol ko^{c}nnen helffen / unnd uns

fol. D v^{r}

auß unser gefencknüß erledigen werden. Darauff du wider antwort gibst / ich hab vor gesagt / das ich mein tag weyt geweßt / unnd manchen landtferer gesehen hab / aber nye keynen geho^{c}rt / der einen von den Juden / darvon du gesaget hast / gesehen hab / und du selbst

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[13]. *Juden Büchlein. Hyerinne würt gelesen, wie Herr Victor von Carben, welcher eyn Rabi der Juden gewesst ist, zu Christlichem glauben kommen.* Printed in 1550 (no place of publishing noted) as a reprint of the 1508 Colcgne edition. See Panzer, *Annallen der älteren deutschen Literatur* I (Nuremberg, 1788/reprint Hildesheim, 1961), 291. I have cited from the 1550 edition (Wolfenbüttel 976 1.Theol.), book I, ch. 19, fol. D iiii^{v} - D vi^{r}.

weyst wissentlich wol / das es erlogen ist / dann
man findt es in keyner schrifft / mich verwun-
dert das du dich solcher deiner erdichten lügen
nit schembst / dann wer es war / sye weren len-
gest kommen und hetten euch erloͤßt. Der
Jud. Ach lieber Herr oder freündt / das sey
weyt von uns / das wir solche ding sagen oder
erdichten solten / wir haben dise ding klaͤrlich
in unser schrifft / unnd wann es nit uffrechtig
oder war wer / so schrib das der Talmut nit /
und uff das jr den ursprung dieser Jüden wo-
haͤr sye kommen seindt vernemen moͤcht / so solt
ir wissen / do uff ein zeit der groß künig Alex-
ander gar nahe die gantze welt bezwungen
het / und als er mit seiner macht zů Jherusalem
kam / den Tempel / das heylig volck / ind jren
Gotz dienst gesehen / unnd auch das vil boͤser
menschen waren / gemerckt / hett er so grossen
zorn / das er sye all die frommen mit den boͤsen
wolt ertoͤdten / doch erbarmet er sich jrer / und
liesse sye mit grossen hauffen auß dem landt
treiben / unnd als sye nun all durch das grosse
gebirg bey dem wuͤtende moͤr gelegen getri-
ben waren / hatt er durch anruͤffung seines

fol. D v′

Gots. oder vileicht auß verhencknüß unsers Got-
tes / oder aber durch zaubery das hohe gebirg /
dadurch er sie het lassen fuͤren zůsammen schlies-
sen / also das die selben Juden zwischen dem
wuͤtenden moͤr und bergen biß auff heütigen
tag / beschlossen sein / und nit erlediget moͤgen
werden / auß diser ursach / wir haben in unserm
Talmut / das solichs gebirg so hoch spitzig und
scharpff / auch von Thieren so ungehür sey / daz
nyemandt darüber zů kommen müglich ist.
Auch das moͤhr das inn unser sprach genant
würdt Sambation / und in teutsch das wuͤtend
moͤr / uff der anderen seiten so sehr wuͤte unnd
tobe / unnd nymmer mehr raste / das auch nye-
mandt darüber moͤge schiffen / alleyn am frey-
tag nach mittag zů sechs uhren / zwischen
diser zeit so steht es still / und wuͤtet nit / unnd
man mochte wol darüber faren in diser zeit / so
feiren wir den Sambstag / unnd der freytag
wer uns und jn zůkurz über zůfaren. Anders
die rodten Juden weren laͤngst kommen und
hetten uns erloͤßt. ¶ Der Christ. O du unsaͤ-

liger Jüde schembestu dich deiner offenbaren
lügen nit / daz du sagest die rodten Juden dorf-
fen des freytags oder sambstags nit har und
jr hinüber das wutend mor faren / wie vil Ju-
den seindt seidt der zeit har von allen landen
zů Jherusalem gefaren / die manig mal wider-
wertigs windes halben jar unnd tag mussen

fol. D vi^{r}
uff dem mor faren / unnd jren Sabath mussen
brechen / ist es den selben keyn schandt oder
sünd / noch vil weniger wer es auch schandt daz
sye die rodten Jüden einen Sabath brechen /
und herüber kamend euch zů erlosen / und das
gelobt landt wider besessen. Es ist als narren-
werck was du sagst / unnd wider alle redlich-
keyt.

Translation:

[fol. D iiii^{v}]
[4] If you ask a
Jew, young or old, 'In whom do you place your trust,
you Jews, that you are so stubborn and arrogant,
even though you see very well that your kingship
and temple [power and salvation] are long past, given
that there is no poorer and more God-forsaken people in
[10] the whole world than you?' They answer and say: 'We
still have a king and leaders in another country.'
So you ask: 'Where and in which country are they?
I have visited many lands
and have never heard of any kingdom or
[15] jurisdiction that you can or might still claim.'
The Jew's answer: 'We still have a king
the other side of Babylonia, in the Caspian
Mountains. He is descended from the tribe of Judah.
These same Jews are the Red Jews
[20] and strong. There are as many more of them
than there are Christians in all of Christendom,
as you Christians are now more than us.[34]
You can tell this easily, for
out of the twelve tribes of Israel, not more than
[25] two, that is the tribe of Reuben and
of Gad, have managed to come out, and all
these lands[35] are full of them [!]. Numbers 32.
And here it is important to note how immense the host
of the Ten Tribes must be, who are enclosed there,
[30] who can still help us and who will

[fol. D v^{r}]
[1] free us from our imprisonment.'
To which you answer: 'I have already
said that I have travelled far in my day,
and seen many a traveller, but never heard
[5] any of them who had seen even one of
these Jews of whom you speak, and you yourself
know very well that it is all made-up, because
it cannot be found in Scripture. I am amazed
that you are not ashamed of these whopping
[10] lies of yours. For if this were true, they would have

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[34]. The Red Jews are in the same proportion to all of Christendom as Christendom is to exiled Jewry.

[35]. Meaning the Gentile lands of exile.

come a long time ago and rescued you.' The
Jew: 'Oh, dear sir or friend, far be it
from us that we should have said or
invented such things. We have clear evidence of them
[15] in our Scriptures. And if it were not reliable
or true, it would not be in the Talmud.
And in order that you may know the origin of these Jews
and where they come from, you ought to know
that long ago, when the great King Alexander
[20] almost conquered the entire world,
he approached Jerusalem with his armies,
and saw the Temple, the holy people [sc. Israel] and
their divine service, and he saw that there were many
wicked people among them. He became so angry
[25] that he wanted to kill them all, the pious and the
wicked. But he had mercy on them and
had them driven out of Israel in a great mass.
And when they all had been driven between
the great mountains that border on the Wild Sea,
[30] he invoked his

[fol. D v']
[1] god, or perhaps it happened by the providence of our God,
or even by magical means, and he made the high mountains,
between which he had let the Jews be driven, close in on
each other, so that these same Jews were enclosed
[5] between the Wild Sea and the mountains until the present
day, and cannot be freed, for this reason: we have in our
Talmud that these mountains are so high, pointy and sharp
and so full of dangerous animals
[10] that no-one can possibly cross them.[16]
Furthermore, the sea that is called Sambation in our
language and in German the Wild Sea
rages so wildly on the other side --
and never rests -- that no-one
[15] can cross it [by ship] except from Friday
at six o'clock in the afternoon until
Saturday at six o'clock in the afternoon. Between
these times it is still, and does not rage, and
one might well traverse it at this time, but
[20] we celebrate on Saturday, and Friday alone
would not be long enough to make the trip. Otherwise
the Red Jews would have broken out long ago

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[16]. This reference has eluded me. The Babylonian Talmud refers only infrequently to the Ten Tribes, and then usually only in passing.

and liberated us.' The Christian: O
you damnable Jew, are you not ashamed of your evident
[25] lies when you say that the Red Jews cannot
come across on Friday or Saturday
and you cannot cross the Wild Sea to them? How
many Jews have travelled since time immemorial
from all countries to Jerusalem, and underway often
[30] been forced on account of unfavorable winds to spend

[fol. D vi']
[1] years on the high seas, and to break their
Sabbath? It is no sin or shame for them,
so how much less would it be shameful for the
Red Jews to break one Sabbath
[5] and come across to free you and to
occupy the Holy Land once again? Everything you say
is nonsense and against all honesty
and good sense. [...]'

13. Victor von Carben, *De vita et moribus Iudeorum*:[37]

[78r/fol. o iiii[r]
[28]... Haec quidem de pertinacia mulierum apud Iudaeos. Igitur cum ex Iudaeo viro aut muliere seu iuvene sive sene percontaris: quid sit ipsum quod ita eos [30] erigat in spem ac patiendi fiduciam / quando tam sunt pertinaces ut etiam morte minime vereri videantur: tunc ille quisquis est, seu vir seu mulier, ita respondet. 'Nos quidem etsi hic videmur destituti omni principatu atque dominio: sunt tamen nobis reges ac principes.' Tunc si queris rursum ex eo, in qua parte orbis terrarum reges et principes [35] dominia ac regna possident, de quorum certe potestatibus aut dominationibus nichil hactenus exploratum fuit, tum ille: 'Ultra baylonem in orientem in monte Caspio, rex nobis est de vera propagine iuda. Et qui sub illo sunt: ipsi quoque veri Iudaei [margin: Figmentum de Iudaeis rubris] appelantur / et qui nunc vulgo dicuntur[38] rubri Iudaei atque ro-[40]bustissimi:[39] quorum numerus multo maior est quam Christianorum. Nam ex duodecim tribus Israel duae tantum dispersae sunt per

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[37]. A Latin translation of the *Juden Büchlein*, the *De vita et moribus Iudeorum Victoris de Carben olim iudei nunc Christi miseratione Christiani Libellus* (= Book I of the *Opus aureum*) appeared together with an edition of Ricold de Montecroix' *Contra sectam Mahumeticam non indignis scitu libellus* at Paris in 1511, printed *ex officina H. Stephani (pp. 63-86)*. This work is at Wolfenbüttel (151.51 Th.), in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (4 H.misc. 146 and 4 Inc.c.a. 1853, Beibd.1), the Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati) and the British Library (C.46. d. 5. (1.)). This passage is an almost word-for-word translation of the 1508 German version; it starts on page 78 (fol. o iiii[r]) of Stephanus' edition. I have added half-quotes to identiry direct speech, and substituted commas for periods as necessary for a clear reading.

[38]. "Who are called in the vulgar tongue [German] the Red Jews ...". Here is the feeling of a contemporary translator, who feels obliged to render the German text faithfully, but to note that Red Jews is a popular expression that does not belong in Latin.

[39]. Cf. *Juden Büchlein*, "... die selben Juden seind die rodten Juden unnd starcken...". These Jews are described as 'strong' or 'most fit' in contradistinction to the politically weak and dependent Jews of the diaspora.

partes [78ᵛ/o iiiiᵛ; 1] Europae: qui nos sumus et quidam plurimi. Quanto ergo plures sunt qui ex decem reliquis tribubus [sic] relicti sunt: qui quidem ii sunt de quibus supra iam dixi / qui et nos non ignorant / et qui nobis auxilio esse possunt quando volunt / atque ex hac captivitate qua nunc [5] captivi detinemur liberare.' Haec ille: 'Tu vero dicere potes. Dixi tibi o Iudaee nunquam exploratum ab homine / nec usque compertum esse ...'

14. Michael Kromer [Kramer], *Eyn Underredung vom glawben:*[40] [437/B^{b}]

[21; Pfarher:] Aber nun habt yr in funffzehen hundert iaren unnd lenger weder Cepter noch propheten gehabt. Jacob: Wir haben unsern Cepter noch nyhe gentzlich ver-[25]lorn, sunder alwegen ko^nige, fursten und propheten gehabt.

Pfarher: Wo do?

Jacob: Wir habenn einen in Babilonien, Auch einen in Persienn.

Pfarher: Ja, es was Daniel in Babilonie zur zeyt auch [30] gewalltig, Des gleychenn Joseph in Egipten, sie waren drumb nicht ko^nige. so mo^chts yetzundt auch zu gehen.

Jacob: Habt yr auch gehort vom wu^ten meer, wie das wu^tet und nymmer ruget byß auff den Saboth, do Gott geruget hat nach der schepffunge? auf die stundte stehet es [35] styll, und wer do handelt, der mus auff die zeyt heru^ber [438; 1] kommen. Nun haben wir ein gepott, den Saboth zu feyren unnd wirdt auch festiglich von uns

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[40]. Eyn Underredung vom // glawben, durch herr Micheln kromer, // Pfarherr zu Cunitz, und eynem Judischen Rabien, mit // namen Jacob vonn Brucks, geschehen ynß // Richters haußе do selbst zu Cunitz. // Mitwoch nach Andree // M.D.xxiii. [2 December, 1523]. Beneath the title is a woodcut showing the protagonists sitting over a meal at a table, in front of a window facing a mountainous scene. with the caption 'Pfarher - Jacob Jud'. The printer was Matthes Maler of Erfurt. The pamphlet was reproduced in its entirety by Otto Clemen, ed., *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, I (Leipzig and New York: Rudolf Haupt, 1907), 423-444 [numbered incorrectly as 344]; this volume was actually published at Halle an der Saale. This passage appears on pages 437 [numbered 337]-439 [numbered 339]; fol B^{b} - B ii^{a}. The debaters have started to discuss the Christian interpretation of Genesis 49,10 (The scepter shall not depart from Judah...until Shiloh come...). Jacob denies that there are no Jewish kingdoms left on earth, as the pastor charges, in order to refute the argument that the political impotence of the Jews is proof that the Messiah has already come (Jesus) and the scepter [kingship] departed from Judah.

gehallten. Nun weytter: es seint xii geschlecht außernalb des meerß gewest in Egipten, und nicht mehr dan eylffthalb geschlecht seint eruber komen im [40] außgange,[41] die selbigen haben alwegen Propheten bey sich gehabt, die selbigen haben erwart, wen sie Gott wollt heymsuchen unnd erloßen, unnd diesen vergangnen Sommer hatt Gott sie mit gnaden heym gesucht, dan das wasser, wie yr gehort habt, hat nur den Saboth styll vorgestanden, odder diesen Sommer [B ii[a]; 1] auff ein zeyt / hatß angefangen auff den Saboth und acht tage in rugen gestanden. So habenn die Propheten zum volcke geruffenn, das sie sollen ansehen, das sie Gott erloßen wollte, drumb sollen sie außgehenn in das gelobtthe landt, das yhn [5] Gott versprochen hatte. Saget weyther, das sie yr Legaten beym Keyßer der Turcken gehabt und yn gebetthen, das er yn wollte eyn rawmen das gelobte landt, dann Gott hetß yren vettern und yn eingegeben. Darauff der Turcke geantwort hat: die weylls yrer vatter ist gewest unnd von Gott yhn gegebenn, [10] er wollte es yn verkauffen. darauff die Juden widder geantwort: Gott hett es yn gegeben, darumb wollten sie es nicht kauffen, sunder mit dem schwerdt gewyn. und zeygte an, das der Keyser der Turcken und die rothen Juden yetzundt mit dem schwerdt umb das gelobthe land fechten.

[15] Pfarher: Ist yr dann so viel, das sie so mechtig seindt?

Jacob: Ja, yr ist zu sechßmall hundertmall tausent, das byn ich gewyß. Auch wirts neulich in Druck kommen.[42] der Jude was vast ein beredt man, auch auff neunnerley sprachen wol gelart, drumb stundts der Pfarher zu frieden.

[20] Pfarher: Jacob, ich laße zu, das yr Jherusalem widder uberkommet. Aber ich laße nicht zu, das yr das koniglkiche Cepter widder erlanget, sunder die oberkeyt denn Turcken oder Christen bleyben wirdt. Dann die Heyden haben nyhe keiner Judischenn konig wollt habenn noch leyden, sunder alwegen [439; 25] sich mit gewalt widder sie gesatzt. Allein von diesem Schylo oder Messias stehet geschrieben, das yn die Volker und Heyden werden zufallenn.

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[41]. The exodus from Egypt.

[42]. The pamphlet of 1523 printed below, no. 18.

Translation:

[437/fol. B^{b1}

[1] [21; Pastor]: But for fifteen hundred years and more you have had neither scepter [kingship] nor prophets.

Jacob: We have never yet lost our 'scepter' completely,
[5] [25] but have always had kings, princes and prophets.

Pastor: Where then?

Jacob: We have one in Babylon, and another in Persia.

Pastor: Yes, but Daniel was a powerful man in Babylon
[10] [30] as well, just as Joseph was in Egypt, but they were not kings for all that. That is probably how things are today as well.

Jacob: Have you also heard of the Wild Sea[43], and how it rages and rests only on the Sabbath, just as God rested
[15] after the Creation? At that time it is [35] calm, and anyone with business there must cross it then. But we are commanded to honor the Sabbath by resting, and we obey firmly. Furthermore: there were 12 tribes beyond the
[20] sea[44] in Egypt, but only eleven and a half came across [it] in the [40] exodus, and these same[45] have always had prophets amongst them, and have expected God to go among them and liberate them, and this past summer God showed them his grace, for the water, as you have heard, used
[25] to be calm only on the Sabbath, but this summer [fol. B 11^{a}; 1] it stood still on the Sabbath and eight days [following]. The prophets, therefore, exhorted the Jews
[30] to make them understand that God wanted to liberate them, and thus that they ought to set out for the Holy Land [5]

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[43]. The Sambation, understood not as a river but as a sea.

[44]. It seems as though the Sambation is being confused with the Red Sea.

[45]. The Jews supposedly left in Egypt, who are here confused with the Ten Tribes supposed to be enclosed in the Caspian Mountains. This is characteristic of Kromer's confused, creative and confounding view of theology and divine history.

that God promised them. [He][46] says further that they[47] have sent legates to the Turkish Sultan to ask him to vacate the Promised Land for them, as God had given it
[35] to their fathers and to them. To which the Turk answered: since it had been their fathers' and was given them by [10] God, he would sell it to them. To which the Jews retorted: God gave it to them, so they were not willing
[40] to buy it, but to win it back by the sword. And [he] said that the the Turkish Sultan and the Red Jews have now resorted to arms to fight for the Promised Land.

[15] Pastor: Are there so many of them, then, that they are that powerful?

[45] Jacob: Yes; there are six hundred thousand of them. I am certain of that. And this will appear in print soon.[48] The Jew [Jacob] was an extremely well-spoken man, and well-versed in nine languages, so the pastor made no further objections.

[50] [20] Pastor: Jacob, it is possible that you might well take Jerusalem once again. But it is impossible for you to regain the scepter of kingship. Authority will remain with the Turks or the Christians. For the heathen have
[55] never wanted or tolerated a Jewish king, but have always [25] opposed this by force. But it is written of this Shiloh or Messiah that the nations and the heathens will recognize him as king. [And in which king have the nations and the Gentiles believed other than the 'Jewish King Christ'...?]

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[46]. The unmentioned source of this tale, who is presumably also the source of the 1523 'Red and Black Jews' pamphlet; see no. 18, *infra*.

[47]. The enclosed Jews.

[48]. The 1523 'Red and Black Jews' pamphlet, no. 18.

15. Michael Kromer's *Unterredung vom Glauben* (sharply abridged) in the 1550 edition of Victor von Carben's *Juden Büchlein*:[49]

[fol. T vii^{r}]

[26; Pfarrer] ... Aber nun habt ir [Juden] in fünfftzehen hundert jaren und lenger / weder Zepter noch propheten gehabt.

J[acob]: Wir haben unsern Zepter noch nye gentzlich verlorn / sunder alwegen kü-[30]nige / Fürsten / und propheten gehabt.

P[farrer]: Wo da?

[fol. T vii^{v}; 1] J: Wir haben einen in Babilonien / auch einen in Persien.

P: Ja es was Daniel in babilonie zů zeit auch gewaltig Deßgelichen Joseph in Egipten / sie waren drümb nit künige / so möchts [5] yetzund auch zů gehn.

J: die roten Jüden seind yetzund mit dem schwerdt auff umb das gelobt lande zůfechten.

P: Ist ir dann so vil / das sie so mechtig seind?

J. Ja ir ist zů sechßmal hundert mal dausent.

P: Ich laße zů das ir Jherusalem [10] wider überkommet / Aber ich laße nit zů das ir das künigliche Zepter wider erlanget / sunder die oberkeyt / den türcken oder Christen bleiben wirt.

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[49]. See above, note 33, no. 12. This passage comes from the same edition as used in no. 12; thus, the *Underredung vom Glauben* was appended to this later edition of one of its primary sources; fol. T vii^{r}-T vii^{v}.

Translation:

[fol. T vii^{r}]

[1] [26; Pastor]... But you [Jews] have now for fifteen hundred years and more had neither scepter [kingship] nor prophets.
[5] Jacob: We have never yet lost our 'scepter' completely, but have always had kings, 30 princes and prophets.
Pastor: Where then?

[fol. T vii^{v}; 1] Jacob: We have one in Babylon, and another in Persia.

[10] Pastor: Yes, but Daniel was a powerful man in Babylon as well, just as Joseph was in Egypt, but they were not kings for all that. That is probably how things [5] are today as well.

Jacob: The Red Jews have risen and taken arms to fight for the Promised Land.

[15] Pastor: Are there so many of them, then, that they are that powerful?

Jacob: Yes, there are six hundred thousand of them.

Pastor: It is possible that you might well take Jerusalem [10] once again. But it is impossible for you to regain the scepter of kingship. Authority will remain with the
[20] Turks or the Christians.

16. Antonius Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*:[50]

[fol. Z i^{v}]

[5] ... Zum sechsten tro^{c}sten sy sich gar vast der zehen geschlecht die der könig Assyrios [!] vertribe / und fu^{c}rt sy hinder Assyrien / und setzet sy in die stett Chalo / Chovor des Bachs Goson / unnd in die stett Modai/ wye du solches findest im 4. bůch der künig am 17. Das nimpt mych [10] aber groß wunder / warumb man dise zehen geschlecht die rotten Juden haist / und also hoffen sy gar vast / dise rotten Juden soilen kommen und sye erlo^{c}sen / sy haben auch klaine Hebreische und teütsche bu^{c}chlein darinnen sy gar vil lugen und ma^{c}rlin von disen zehen geschlechten schreiben / auch von einem [15] bach Sabbathion genant / wo^{c}lcher bach ein gantze woch wu^{c}te unnd tobe das kein mensch uber jn faren kan / sonder allayn am Sabbath růwe das selbig wasser / unnd dise rodte Juden haben yhenhalben dises wassers yr wonung / und dasselb komm daher der pfeffer / und die rodten Juden stellen am Freytag so^{c}ck mit pfef-[20]fer an das port dises wassers / so kommen dann die heyden an dem Sabbath/ und pringen als vil korn an die stat / und wenn Gott die hyelendischen Juden erlo^{c}sen wo^{c}lle / werd er machen das der bach still stehe und růwe / Ach lieber got wie setzt ym das volck selbs vo^{c}gel in bu^{c}ssen / ich hab vil erfarne kaufleut und andere ge-[25]forschet / wissen aber gar nichtt davonn / wie mo^{c}cht es müglich sein / das man in zwai unnd zwaintzig hundert jaren nit etwas von solchem grossen volck und wunderbarlichen bach erfarn het / ...

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[50]. *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub // mit sambt einer gründtlichen und war- // hafften anzaygunge / Aller Satzungen / Ceremonien / // Gebetten / Haymliche und offentliche Gebreüch / deren sich dye // Juden halten / durch das gantz Jar / Mit scho^{c}nen und ge- // gründten Argumenten wyder jren Glauben. Durch // Anthonium Margaritham Hebrayischen Leser // der Lo^{c}blichen Statt Augsburg / beschri- // ben und an tag gegeben*. This first edition was printed at Augsburg in 1530 by Heinrich Steiner. This popular Protestant counterpart to Victor's work was printed again at Augsburg in 1531, at Leipzig in 1531, at Frankfurt a.M. in 1544, 1556, 1561 and 1689, and finally at Leipzig in 1705, edited by F.A. Christiani (Wolfenbüttel Gv 662). This passage is taken from this edition, a copy of which is at Wolfenbüttel (171.10 Quod. 10). We start with the sixth 'false reason' given by Jews for their current condition and hopes for the future.

Translation:

[fol. Z i^{v}]
[1] [5]... Sixth, they comfort themselves greatly with hopes about the Ten Tribes, whom King Assyrios drove away, and resettled them beyond Assyria in the cities Chalo, Chovor by the river Goson and in the city of
[5] Modai[51] as you will find in the fourth book of Kings, chapter 17. I am [10] greatly puzzled, however, why these Ten Tribes are called Red Jews. They [the Jews] have a firm hope that these Red Jews will come and liberate
[10] them. They also have little books in Hebrew and in German that contain many lies and tales about these Ten Tribes. They also write about a river [15] called the Sabbathion, which rages the whole week and foams such that no-one can cross it. But during the Sabbath this river rests. And
[15] these Red Jews live on the other side of this river and that is where pepper comes from.[52] On Friday, the Red Jews place sacks [20] of pepper at the edge of the river, and then the heathen come on the Sabbath and replace the pepper with as much grain. When God wants to liberate the
[20] Jews here [in Europe], he will make the river calm. Oh, dear God, how the Jews deceive themselves.[53] I have asked many experienced merchants and others, but they knew nothing about [the Red Jews]. How can it be possible that
[25] nothing has been heard for over twenty-two hundred years about so large a nation and so miraculous a river ...

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[51]. II. Kings 17,6: "In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."

[52]. Gog and Magog are often associated with the production of pepper. See, for example, the Persian Alexander-book: *Nizami. Das Alexanderbuch (Iskandarname)*, trans. by J. Christoph Bürgel (Zurich, 1991; Manesse Bibliothek der Weltliteratur): "Ein Kraut wächst dort aus dem Boden, dessen Körner so scharf sind wie Pfeffer, davon essen sie [Gog und Magog] Tag und Nacht, schlafen dann und lassen nicht ab davon." (539).

[53]. Literally, 'how they put birds in the bushes for themselves'. The meaning is that they deceive themselves only, and willfully.

17. Johannes Agricola, *Sprichwörter* (1528 and 1534):[54]

Number 272:

Hetten wir alle eynen glauben / Gott und den gemeynen nutz vor augen / Gutten friden und recht gericht / Eyn elle / maß / und gewicht / Eyne müntze / und gut geldt / So stunde es wohl in aller Welt. Wenn es solt wünschens gelten / unnd wündschen hülffe / so wolt ich dise stucke der welt wundschen unnd günnen / aber ich hab sorge / es werde welt welt bleiben / und wunschen werde nicht helffen. Denn wundschens und feystens gehet vil in eynen sack / es fullet nichts / es ist vergebens. Eynickeyt ist in der welt nicht zu hoffen / denn eyn yeder leret wie yhn sein gedancken leren. Es seind inn der welt Juden / Heyden / Turcken / Sarracener / Moschobiter / Christen / Inder / Bapst / Bischoffe / Münche / Nonnen / Sacramenter / Widerteuffer / unnd der ding on zal. In disen allen ist das hertz eyner sonderlichen meynung / wie mo'gen sie denn eyns sein. Es ist droben gesagt auß dem Ritter Pontus / was der eyne Radt des Soldans sone riedt. Auch wie in Behmen ettwan keyne eynigkeyt hatt mo'gen troffen werden / denn daß man hatt muessen zulassen / daß eyn yeder glawben mochte / was er wolle / und daß keyner den andern des glaubens halben rechtfertige. Es ist bey den Schuollerern hoch gehandelt worden / ob eynes yegklichen menschen glaube den menschen selig mache? Denn sie sagen / daß der grosse Alexander auff seine knye gefallen sey / und von Gott ernstlich gebetten / er wolle die Caspios montes lassen zusammen gehen / und die roten Juden verschliessen / unnd es sey also geschehen. Daher auch die Fabel erwachsen ist von den roten Juden / welche mit Enoch und Helia vor dem Jungsten tage sollen herfur kommen. Es sey nun umb die fabel wie es wil / so ist starck / daß keyn glaub selig mache / denn an Christum Jesum / wie S. Paul leret / und an den Gott / welcher hatt Christum vom tode erweckt. Wer aber den glauben bekennet / den kan die welt nicht leyden / daraus folget den unfride wie es denn zu allen zeitten des Evangelij ergangen ist / wie auch Augustinus schreibt. [...]

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[54]. See Johannes Agricola, *Die Sprichwörtersammlung*, I, ed. Sander L. Gilman (Berlin and New York, 1971); 218-219.

Translation:

Had we all one faith,
God and the common weal in mind,
A just peace and fair courts,
The same measures for length, volume and weight,
One coinage and a solid currency,
Life would be good all over the world.
If I had to make a wish and wishing were of any use, I would wish these things for the world and hope it enjoyed them, but I am afraid that the world will remain the world, and wishing will not help. You can wish or fart into a bag as much as you like, but in vain, as these things will not fill it. Unity cannot be expected in this world, as each person teaches as his thoughts teach him. There are in this world Jews, heathens, Turks, Saracens, Muscovites, Christians, Indians, the Pope, bishops, monks, nuns, Sacramentarians, Anabaptists and the like, countless numbers of them. All of these people believe in their hearts different things, so how can they be one? I have mentioned above in reference to the story of the knight Pontus what one counsellor advised the son of the Sultan. And how in Bohemia no unity
can be arrived at, except that each had
to be allowed to believe what he wants,
and no-one has to justify his beliefs to anyone else. The scholastics have spent much time on the question whether the [individual] faith of each person will save that person. For they say that Alexander the
Great fell on his knees and prayed
earnestly to God to move the Caspian Mountains
together and enclose the Red Jews, and this is said to have happened. This is the origin of the fable concerning the Red Jews, who are supposed to appear with Enoch and Elijah before Judgement Day. Whatever we believe concerning this fable, it is certain that no belief saves except belief in Christ Jesus, as St. Paul teaches, and in God, who raised Christ from the dead. But he who confesses the faith is hated by the world. Hence arise disputes and differences, as has happened at all times of Gospel preaching, as Augustine writes.

18. Text of the 1523 'Red and Black Jews' pamphlet:[55]

fol. a i^{r}

Von ainer grosse meng
unnd gewalt der Juden die lange zeyt
mit unwonhafftigen Wüsten beschlossen und verborgen
gewesen/Ietzunder außgebrochen und an tag kom=
men seyn/Dreyssig tagrayß von Jherusalem
sich nydergeschlagen/Was sy fu^{r}rgenom=
men haben findt man nach laut dises
Sendbriefs zum tayl glaub=

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[55]. In length 4 sheets in-quarto, this pamphlet was printed by Heinrich Steiner at Augsburg in 1523; Wolfenbüttel 196.14 Hi (9), reproduced in Hans-Joachim Köhler's microfiche collection *Flugschriften* des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts (Zug, 1978-), Fiche 1304, no. 3374, made from München SB 4° Ded. 102/4 (Res). I have chosen to reproduce this version, even though it seems to be posterior to the version reprinted in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahrhunderten der Reformation*, ed. Otto Clemen, Leipzig and New York: Rudolf Haupt, 1907, I, 442-444. The version reproduced here lacks a closing parenthesis at fol. a ii^{v}, line 3, after "wissent", and a opening parenthesis on the same page, line 24, before "Als", punctuation present in Clemen's version and necessary for any sensible reading of the text. The closest edition to the present text is Panzer 2616/Wolfenbüttel 131.1. Th (27)/Köhler Fiche 1044, Nr. 2636, which is set in the same type and lines, with the same woodcut. The spelling of the latter is slightly different from the text reprinted here, but belongs to the same dialect area (upper Swabian/Bavarian) and was simply another edition, produced by Steiner, probably after the present edition: Panzer 2616 shows signs of degeneration in the text characteristic of another remove from the source (Clemen's version), namely the absence of certain words that are present in other, earlier editions. Panzer 2616 is missing in fol. a ii^{r}, line 26 the participle "gethan"; on fol. a iii^{r}, line 2, "geselschafft" is misspelled "geschelschafft". Panzer 2616 is missing the same parentheses as the present edition, and therefore belongs to the same family. It probably was typeset quickly to meet a large demand after the present pamphlet (itself probably the second edition) was sold out. I propose that the descent of the texts is as follows: Clemen's text, Panzer 2082, Wolfenbüttel 196.14 Hi (9), Panzer 2616, then BSB München Rar 4290, which is in Bavarian dialect; the print, type and composition are entirely different from the preceding four and point to a Bavarian printer.

liche unterricht.
1523

fol. a ii^{r}
Es ist ain jud auß Welsch=
en Landen kommen/der
meynem genedigen herrn
von Triest glawbwirdig
mit brieffen so im zů ge=
schickt seindt worden be=
zeyget/Anzaygt wye
vor etlichen verschinen tagen brieff und ware
kuntschafft auß Jerusalem und Damasco und
andern unnd nemlichen an seyn Vettern inn
Welschlanden zůkommen anzaygent wie ain
grosse menge und macht der Juden Nemlich
biß in die fünff oder Sechß mal hundert Tausent
in das Egipten landt ankommen unnd sich
dafür Jherusalem XXX tag rayß weyt gelegert
oder nyder geschlagen/Auß den xii geschickt=
er Juden zů bottschafften erwo^{c}lt unnd dem
Türkischen Kayser zů geschickt worden/den
zůuermanen/das er in ir alt unnd Va^{c}tterlich
erbland das ist terra promissionis wyderumb
zůaygne wa aber nit/wollen sy das selb mit
gewalt und streyt selbst eynnemen unnd wa
sach wer/das der Türck nit glawben woldt/
das sy recht Juden weren/Erbietten sy sich
mit grossen zaychen das dann der Moses und
ander propheten vor nye gethan sollichs zů be=
weren/und als der Jud anzeygt so sein es schier
Swartz auch rodt Juden und auß den hinder=

fol. a ii^{v}
sten Wu^{c}sten oder unnden bey Affrica herauß
kommen die alweg bißher (so lang sy dann von
Jherusalem vertiben/Nyemant wissent [)] ver
borgen gelegen dann auch nyemant vor gros=
sen Wu^{c}sten und wilden gyfftigen Thieren und
schlangen zů inen noch sy herauß zu uns haben
kommen mügen das dann glaublich sein mage
denn die weyl sy in Affrica gewont das man
nent den tritten tayl der welt ist fast ain un=
gewonlichs land/wie mans denn in der Geo=
graphay und Hystorien glaubwirdig erfert
und den geleerten der Geograffey wol wissent
ist das nit vil menschen vor grosser hytz unnd
wu^{c}sten auch wilden thyeren da wonent auß=

genommen die ort so dem Mediterranischen
Mo'r die Welschen/Hispanischen und Kriechi=
schen landt anschawent und anstossent/des
selbige etwa wol erbaut mit Steten und Do'rf=
fern da auch ain land im andern ist da lau=
ter Schwartz Moren seindt/sonst was sich
hinden gegen mitternacht sich erstreckt/ist
mit grossen wa'lden unnd bergen verwu'st das
kain mensch in etliche Tausent oder hundert
meylen wontt/Unnd das gantz erdtrich [(] Als
Plinius schreybt) Vol mit vil der vergyfften
thieren ist/dergleychen man sonst in der gantz=
en welt nit findt/ist auff das dem glaubwir=
digen gleych das yetz gemelte Juden villeicht

fol. a iii'
(wie dann der Jud auch anzaygt) vonn men=
schlicher geselschafftt ab gesonndert vor den
wilden unnd gyfftigen thyeren unnd gro'sten
wu'sten nit haben mügen herauß ziehen noch
ander leüt zú jnen kommen/wie sie aber yetz erst
herauß kommen/Sagt der Jud es sey auß der
verhengknuß gottes geschehen dann alle bo'se
vergyffte thyer und würm (von wegen sam=
mlung der wasser So vor grosser gyß schyer al=
le flüß und bech in Affrica auß gethaylt) dem
Mo'r zúgelaffen/unnd als sy in Egiptenland
haben gelegen/haben sy ain groß unngewon=
liche (der zeyt nach) finsternuß bey der nacht
gesehen dar ab sy erschrocken/aber vil meer die
Caldeyischen Astronomi daselbst auff die erd
nidergefallen mit grossem geschray und wain
en zú den Juden gesagt/ir und anderer vo'lck=
er glauben soll zergeen unnd der yrrig das ist
der Juden glaub soll widerumb gemert wer=
den/zú dem großkanzler gesagt dem Juden
wie er auch vor etlichen tagen durch brieff ver=
nommen hab/wye das ganntz Jüdisch landt
Jerusalem Egipten und Arabia sampt auch
vil andern Landen dem hayligen grab ange=
ho'rendt/vom Türcken abgefallen unnd sich
dem Sophoy under geben unnd gentzlich für
genommen sich und das haylige grab vor dem
Türckischen gewalt zú beschyrmen/darauff

fol. a iii'
der Türck etlich vil schiff auff Alkayr wyder
den Sophoy geschickt/Herwider auch der Sop=

hey auff dem Mo'r unnd landt sich wider den
Türcken gesterckt hatt/dardurch man ver=
maint sollichs allain ursach sein das der Türck
yetz den Sommer auf Ungern oder ander land
gezoge sey/Die botschafft der Juden ist noch
bei dem Türckischen Kayser was sy für ant=
wort oder abfertigung von im empfahen wirt
vermaint der Jud auff das kürtzest zů wys=
sen thon.

Translation:

[fol. a i^{r}
[1] Concerning a great multitude
and host of Jews, long
enclosed and hidden by uninhabitable deserts,
who have now broken out and appeared
[5] [in Egypt], where they are encapmed thirty days' march
from Jerusalem. What they propose to do
is to be found in the following
letter, in a report that is
in part believable.
10 1523.

[fol. a ii^{r}
[1] A Jew has come from Latin
parts with a
credible report supported
by letters that were
[5] sent to him [that are in his possession],
and made known to my lord of Triest
that a good number of days ago,
letters and genuine
accounts sent from Jerusalem and Damascus and
[10] elsewhere reached cousins of his in
his country. These letters relate that a
great multitude and host of Jews, more precisely
as many as five or six hundred thousand,
have arrived in the land of Egypt and made
[15] camp thirty days' march from Jerusalem.
They chose twelve capable
Jews from amongst themselves as emissaries and
sent them to the Turkish emperor [sultan]
to admonish him to return to them their ancient and
[20] ancestral homeland, that is the Promised Land.
If he should not do so, [the emissaries were to tell him
that] the Jews were prepared to conquer this land by
force of arms. Should the Turk not believe
they were real Jews, they were to prove their identity
[25] with great portents, such as Moses and the other prophets
never did. And this Jew reports that they are all black
and red Jews, and have come out of the uttermost

[fol. a ii^{v}
[1] deserts or dunes of Africa, who until now have been
entirely hidden (ever since they were driven from
Jerusalem, their whereabouts completely unknown). For
noone could reach them, on account of the great

deserts and wild, poisonous beasts and
serpents, nor could they come out to us.
This is all quite believable,
because they were living in Africa, which is
called the Third Part of the world, and which is a highly
unusual land - as one hears from the reliable
descriptions of Geography and histories,
and as those learned in geography well know,
not many people live there, because of the great heat,
deserts and dangerous beasts; with the exception
of those countries that border the Mediterranean
Sea, and face the Latin, Spanish and Greek
lands, and adjoining territories, which are
fairly well built-up with towns and villages,
where there is one country within another [or: in the
second, i.e., Spain?] inhabited by genuine black Moors.
Those other parts that extend southwards are a
wasteland of great forests and mountains, where
no human being lives for many thousands or hundreds of
miles around, and the entire land (as
Pliny writes) is filled by great numbers of poisonous
animals, such as are not found anywhere else in the
world. It therefore seems credible
that these Jews

[fol. a iii^{r}]
(as the Jew himself claims), perhaps isolated from all
other human society, have not been able to leave their
country and come out to other people, on account of the
wild, poisonous animals and the great
deserts. But by whatsoever means they have now
come out, the Jew says, it has been
arranged by God, for all the wicked
poisonous animals and serpents have been swept out to sea
(on account of great flooding that swelled all
the rivers and streams in Africa).
While the Jews were encamped in Egypt,
they saw a great (and for the time) unusual
darkness during the night,
which frightened them greatly. But more importantly, the
Chaldean astronomers there fell to the ground
with much wailing and weeping,
and said to the Jews that their own faith [that of the
astronomers] and the faiths of other peoples would
disappear, and the mistaken faith, that is, the Jewish
faith, would be increased once again. To the high

chancellor [was] said to the Jew,[56] that he had heard
some days ago that all the Jewish land,
Jerusalem, Egypt and Arabia along with
many other countries that belong to the Holy Sepulchre
[25] had seceded from the Turk and submitted
to the Sophoy [Persian ruler], and that they fully
intended to defend themselves and the Holy Sepulchre
against Turkish aggression. In response,

[fol. a iii^{v}]
[1] the Turk has dispatched a great many ships to Cairo
against the Sophoy, who has in turn
increased his forces at sea and on land against the
Turk. Thus, it seems that this is
[5] the sole reason for the Turkish advance
on Hungary and other countries this summer.
The Jewish legation is still
at the court of the Turkish emperor.
The Jew claims he will know very soon
[10] what sort of answer or treatment they will receive from
him.

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[56]. The meaning is unclear; the text seems to be incomplete or corrupt in all four editions known. I suggest as a reconstruction "Zudem [hat der] Großkanzler gesagt dem Juden, ..."; i.e., "Furthermore, the high chancellor (presumably of the lord of Trieste) said to the Jew..."

19. Text of the 1562 pamphlet:[57]

fol. a i^{r}
Neüwe Zeittung/
Von dem grossen Heer
der roten Juden/so auß den Gebir=
gen/Caspij genant/in Asia
herfür kommen.
Dise Juden nennen sich von den
sechs geschlechten Israhel/
Wie ihr nachuolgendts
hoʳren werden.
Neüwlich geschribenn
auß Constantinopel/dis
M.D.LXII.
Jars.

fol. a ii^{r}
Neüwe Zeitunge/Von dem grossen
Heer der Roten Juden/so auß den Gebirgen
Caspij genant/herfürkommen.
Dise Rote Juden nennen
sich von den sechs geschlechten Is=
rael/Nemlich vom geschlechte Ru=
ben/vom geschlechte Gad/von ge=
schlechte Assar/vom geschlechte Isaschar/vom

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[57]. The text is taken from Zentralbibliothek Zürich 27.471a5; listed in Emil Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen* 1505-1599 (Tübingen, 1872; =*BLVS*, 111), 173, Nr. 253: at that time in Zurich and Greifswald. This edition was in all likelihood printed at Nuremberg. There is another edition, in which the word "rot" in the phrase "rote Juden" has been replaced throughout with the word "neu"; other than that, the text is the same: Wolfenbüttel Gv Kapsel 8(18), formerly 260.13 Qu(odlibetica). Weller lists a copy of this secondary edition at Breslau/ Wroclaw (*Ibid.*, 422, Nr. 23) as well as a third version similar to the second, but with a few small differences in typography (*Ibid.*, 422, Nr. 24, also at Breslau). The replacement of 'red' with the word 'new' seems to come from the description of these people in the original, fol. a iii^{v}, line 5, as "ein neüw Geschlecht der Juden": the printer or pirater, caught up in the uncertainty expressed on the same page, lines 17-18 ("aber was das ist/verstehe ich nicht"), dropped the odd and perhaps no longer immediately recognizable term "red Jews" in favour of a term used in the text.

geschlechte Zabulon/und vom geschlecht Ma=
nasse/und hat ein jeglichs geschlecht seine Ober=
sten/und seine eigene Fahnen/die ziehen mit gros=
sem Heer/und seind jre Obersten die sie haben
wie hernach folget.

Der Oberste über das volck vom Geschlecht
Ruben/der ist ein Oberster General über das gan
tze Heer/ist ein frewdiger wilder mensch/heyßt
mit namen Ilian/der selbig hat under jme zwey
tausent Mann/die seind auff die ringe art ange=
thon/mit Ta'rtschen/und grossen breyten schwer=
tern/alle inn Seiden gekleydet/ihre Fahnen ist
schwartz und graw/darinnen ist ein hund ge=
malet/welcher einem Hirschen nachhenget/und
ist darbey auff jre Sprache geschriben/Todt o=
der lebendig
Der Oberst über das Volck von dem geschlech=

fol. a ii^{v}
te Gath/ist einer genannt Jonas/der hat under
jhm siben tausent Pferde/die haben in jren Fah=
nen einen Falcken/der in das gefeß naget/mit di=
sen worten: Du oder ich mu'ssen brechen.

Der Oberste über das Volck Assar/ist einer
genannt Galleson/der will ein Jüdischer Marg
graff sein/und hat under jm Fünfftzehen tausent
Mann zú Pferde/unnd sibentzehen Tausent zú
fúß/die haben ein rhoten Fahnen/darinnen ist
ein Jungkfraw in einem gru'nen kleyde gemalet/
und vor jhr einen Lo'wen stehen/mit den worten:
Ich hoffe das wilde zam zú machen.

Der Oberste über das Volck von dem gesch=
lechte Isaschar/nennet sich einen Graffen von Al=
lar/der selbig hat under jhm zwentzig Tausent
Pferde/darunder seind vier tausent Pferde mit
Armbrosten/und haben in jren Rennfahnen ei=
nen mann mit einer Ketten/mit denen worten:
Meine Ketten wirdt andere binden.

Der Oberste über das volck von dem geschlech
te Zabulon/heyßt mit nammen Athan/nennet
sich einen Hertzog Persolda/der hat under jhm
Fünfftzehen tausent Hackenschützen/die haben
eine blawe Fahnen/darinne einen verdorbenen

fol. a iii^{r}
Baum/mit den worten: Ich bemu^{c}he mich wi=
der zů grůnen.

Der Oberste uber das volck von dem geschlech
te Manasse/ist einer mit nammen Gisar/nennet
sich einen Marggraffen von Vorrey/unnd hat
under jhm zwo^{c}lff Tausent Fůßknecht/mit leder
angethon/das man nicht dadurch stechen kan/
die haben eine gru^{c}ne Fahnen/darinne einen alten
Mann mit Pantoffeln/mit disen worten: Ich
hoffe noch vil zů erwarten.

Diß alles schreiben die Türckischen Waschen
her/so der Türcke an der Grentzen hat/und ha=
ben die juden hie zů Constantinopel/und sonst
im lande der Zeitunge heymlich ein grosse freü=
de/Unnd dieweil sunst niemand zů dem Volcke
hat ko^{c}nnen kommen/haben doch die andern Ju=
den allzeit jhre heymliche Practicken zů jhnen ge=
habt/und soll noch über die sechs Geschlecht/ei=
ne unza^{c}liche mennige von dem gemeynen Po^{c}ffel
zů Roß und fůsse mitziehen/Unnd sie eine uber=
meßige Proviand bey sich haben sollen/dann jhr
Land über die massen fruchtbar sein solle/Sie
sollen auch bey jnen vil trefflicher Künstler ha=
ben/zů unbekandtem Fewerwerck/die das fewr
ko^{c}nnen machen in die ho^{c}he brennen/gleich so es

fol. a iii^{v}
vom Himmel ka^{c}me/das sollen sie aber mit Zau=
berey thůn/Und sollen dise Rote Juden die sein/
davon in den Historien geschriben steht/das der
grosse Alexander innerhalb des Gebirges Ca=
spij ein neüw Geschlecht der Juden nach jm ge=
lassen habe/die das Kalb und die Schlange an=
gebettet haben/sich die zeit her in solchen Gebir=
gen der massen zůsamen gehalten/das man nicht
von jnen geho^{c}rt/auch niemand hat zů jnen kom=
men ko^{c}nnen/von wegen des Sandes am Meer/
so man das Sandechtig Meer nennet. Ire spra=
che soll Passart oder corrumpiert Hebraisch sein/
Und sagen die Juden eine Prophecey/davon sie
sagen/das im Propheten Daniel stehet/Wie er
sagt von dem vierdten theyl der Welt/der wer=
de sich empo^{c}ren/Und will der Messias kommen
und die welt herschen werde/aber was das ist/
verstehe ich nicht/doch soll jre macht erschrecken=

lich sein/und ungleublich/Und stehet der Türck
gegen jnen in grosser gefahr/denn sie sollen nicht
auff die Türckische Grentze kommen sein/und ist
jhr fürhaben stracks auffs gelobte land zů zie=
hen/Welchs sie das Land der verheyssung nen=
nen/der meynung/jr reich/das ist/das Ju=
denthumb widerumb auffzůrichten.
Datum Constantinopel/Anno
M.D.LXII.

Translation:

[fol. a i^{r}
[1] News
of the great army
of red Jews
who have come forth
[5] in Asia from the Caspian Mountains.
These Jews say they are descended from
the six[58] tribes of Israel,
as you will hear
in the following.
[10] Recently written
from Constantinople in this
1562nd
year.

[fol. a ii^{r}]
[1] News of the great army
of Red Jews who have come forth
out of the Caspian Mountains.
These Red Jews say
[5] they are descended from the six tribes of
Israel, namely from the tribe of
Reuben, the tribe of Gad,
the tribe of Asher, the tribe of Issachar,
the tribe of Zebulon, the tribe of
[10] Manasseh, and each tribe has a chief
and its own banner. They march with a great
army, and their chiefs are
as follows.

The chief in charge of the troops of the tribe of
[15] Reuben is the supreme commander of the entire
army, he is a savage and wild man, and is called
Ilian. He has under him two
thousand men protected by chain mail,
armed with with fighting shields and long broadswords,
[20] and clothed in silk. Their banner is
black and grey, and depicts a dog
chasing a hart, and
on it is written in their language Dead

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[58]. Whether ten or six or seven-and-a-half tribes are named, the Ten Tribes are generally meant. The differences are based on varying interpretations of the Biblical passages concerning the exiles of the Israelites.

or alive.
[25] The chief in charge of the troops of the tribe of

[fol. a ii^{v}]
[1] Gad is called Jonas. He commands
seven thousand horsemen on whose banner
is a falcon biting the hilt of a sword (?) with these
words: You or I must break.

[5] The chief in charge of the troops of Asher is
called Galleson and claims to be a Jewish margrave,
and commands fifteen thousand
horsemen and seventeen thousand
infantrymen. They have a red banner depicting
[10] a maiden in a green dress,
with a lion standing before her, with the words:
I hope to tame that which is wild.

The chief in charge of the troops from the tribe
of Issachar styles himself the Count of Allar.
[15] He commands twenty thousand
horsemen, of which four thousand are mounted
crossbowmen. On their battle flag there is
a man in [or: holding?] chains with the words:
My chains will bind others.

[20] The chief in charge of the troops of the tribe
of Zebulon is called Athan and styles
himself Duke Persolda. He commands
fifteen thousand sharpshooters. They have
a blue banner on which is a withered

[fol. a iii^{r}]
[1] tree, with the words: I will try to become
green once again.

The chief in charge of the troops from the tribe
of Manasseh is called Gisar and styles himself
[5] Margrave of Vorrey. He commands
twelve thousand footsoldiers
in impenetrable leather armour.
They have a green banner depicting an old
man in slippers, with the words: I
[10] still hope to expect much.
This has all been written down by the Turkish
Paschas that the Turk has on his borders.
The Jews here in Constantinople and elsewhere
in this land are secretly extremely pleased by this news.

[15] And although no-one else has been able to get to this
people [the Red Jews], the Jews
have always had secret relations with them.
And in addition to the six tribes,
there is said to be a great horde of common folk both
[20] mounted and on foot marching with them. They are said to
have an unusually large amount of provisions with them,
as their country is said to be exceptionally fruitful.
They are also said to have many excellent artisans with
them, skilled in unknown fire-works, who can make fires
burn in the sky as though the fire came

[fol. a iii^{v}]
[1] from heaven. But this they are said to do by means
of the magic arts. And these Red Jews are said to be
those concerning whom the Histories relate that
Alexander the Great left behind him in the Caspian
[5] Mountains a new people of Jews,
who had worshipped the [golden] calf and the snake,
and since then stayed together in those
mountains so closely that no-one
has heard of them since, nor could anyone
[10] reach them, on account of the sand in the sea
called the Sandy Sea. Their language
is said to be bastard or corrupt Hebrew.
The Jews have a prophecy,
concerning which they say that the prophet Daniel speaks
[15] of the fourth part or corner of the world. This part
will rise up, and the Messiah will come
and rule the world, but what this is,
I do not understand, yet their might is said to be
appalling and unbelievable. The Turk is greatly
[20] threatened by them, as they are said not
to have come to the Turkish border, but
their intent is to go straight to the Holy Land,
which they call the Promised Land,
with the plan of refounding their kingdom,
[25] that is Jewry.
Dated at Constantinople in the year
M.D.LXII.

20. Konrad Memmius, *Calendarii Historici //Relatio, 1595:*[59]

Iunius
ANNO
1595

Der Bolnische Adel wirdt / wider die Tarttarn auffgemahnet

Den ledsten Monats tag May / hat man zu Cracaw umgeschlagen / vnd den Polnischen Adel zum drit= tenmal / in Anzug wider die Tartarn auffgemahnet / welche mit unzaͤhlichem hauffen vnnd grausamer Macht / durchbrechen woͤllen / bey welchen auch 40000 Tuͤrcken oder Roten Juden befunden. [...]

Translation:

[1] The Polish nobility is called to arms against the Tartars

On the last day of the month of May, a public announcment was made in Cracow with beating of drums, and the Polish [5] nobility was called upon for the third time to take arms and march against the Tartars, who with an innumerable horde and horrible force wish to break out; they have with them 40000 Turks or Red Jews.

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[59]. *Calendarii Historici//Relatio//Warhafftige Beschreibunge, Aller für//nemen vnnd gedenckwürdigen Historien, so//sich hin vnnd wider inn hoch vnnd nider Teutschlanden,//auch inn Franckreich, Italien, Engellandt, Hispañien, Hungern, Crabaten, Polen, Schweden, Sibenbürgen, Wallachey, Moldaw, Türck-//ey etc. Hiezwischen nechst-verschiner Herbstmess, dieses 1595. Jahrs, zugtragen-und// verloffen haben//zum theil aus eigner Erfahrung, zum theil//auss vberschickten glaubwürdigen Schriften, von//Tag zu Tag verfasset vnnd gestellet.//Durch Jacobum Francum der Historian//vnd wahrheit Liebhabern//Arabeskenvign.//Getruckt zu Walstatt, Im Jahr, MDXCV.* (Wolfenbüttel T 791 Helmst. 4° (3); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4° Eph.pol. 26 h [1595]), 32.

21. The wartime pamphlets of 1596:[60]

a) Weller 825

[page 1]

Zwo warhafftige new Zeittung /
Die Erste / Aus Venedig
dis 1596. Jars / den dritten
Junij Wie drey Legion rothe Jüden / auß
dem Gebirg Caspis / hinder dem rothen Meer / jetzundt
gerüst herfür kommen / Welche Keyser Alexander Magnus
hinder
sich im Gebirg verschlossen gelassen hat / die wöllen mit
Heeres krafft Jerusalem / und das gantze Jüdische Land
wider
gewinnen vnd einnemen. In gesangweiß
gestellet / Im Thon:

Störtzenbecher vnd Gödische Michael.

Die ander Zeittung.
Wie durch Gottes Hülf / der grosse
Fürst auß Siebenbürgen ein gewaltige
Schlacht mit den Türcken gethan / darinnen acht Wascha
gewesen / deren zween gefangen / vnd drey erschossen
worden sind
Auch wie der Siebenbürger jnen 90. Chamel / 30. Maulesel/
vnd 50. Türckische Fahnen / vnter welchen die heilige
geweite
Fahne des Türckischen Mahometi gewesen ist / Auch wie er
dem Türcken hat 50. Tausent Mann erlegt / Dargegen auch
18 Tausent Christen todt blieben / doch mit hülff des

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[60]. Cited in Emil Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen (1505-1599)* (Tübingen, 1872; =*BLVS*, 111); 350, numbers 824 and 825. The originals, at the former Royal Library (Deutsche Staats-bibliothek), Berlin were destroyed or lost during the second World War. However, both were transcribed (and thus saved) by Heinrich Loewe in a privately published booklet entitled *Zur Kunde von den Juden im Kaukasus aus zwei alten deutschen Zeitungen* (Charlottenberg, 1900), 16-22. I have called the pages 'page' as there is no extant copy that would provide exact pagination. Since there is no copy against which to check the division of lines, I have retained the original divisions as reported by Loewe, even though format considerations force the wrapping of lines when a single line will not fit within the margins.

Allmechtigen das Feld behalten. Geschehen diß 96 Jahr.

[page 2?]

Im thon wie man die tagweis singt

Die Erste Zeittung.

Hoert zu ihr Christen alle zugleich / ihr seit gleich Jung /
Arm / oder reich davon ich euch wil singen / von Gottes
Wunderwerck so groß / von newgeschehen Dingen.
Als man zehlt funfftzehen hundert Jar / Sechs vnd Neunt
zig das ist war / vbrs rothe Meer ist kommen / gen Venedig ein
Kaufherr gut / der Rat hats beld vernomen.
Er bracht seltzam newe Zeittung her / von rothen Jüden
vber Meer / welche vor langen Zeiten / Im Gebirg Caspis
verschlossen sein / die wöllen hefftig streiten.
Sie haben sich gerüstet bald / Auff den Türcken mit gantzer
gewalt / vber Caspis gezogen / Hört was ich euch jetzt singen
wil / ist war vnd nicht erlogen.
Die Jüden mit jhrem hauffen bald / zogen vber das Ge-
birg mit gantzer gewaldt / sie woltens Ritterlich wagen/ Sie
wolten die Türcken mit gantzer gewalt / auß dem Jüdischen Lande jagen
Keyser Alexander Magnus / solche Jüden in das Gebirg
verschluß / sie naben sich [sehr]

[page 3]

sehr gemehret / Drey Legion ist
jhr in der Summ / wie jhr vor habt gehöret.
Der Oberste jhr König groß / von Persich Solde[61] vnd sein
Genoß / fürst neunmal hundert tausent Mane / die sint all in
hart Leder bekleidt / und füren in jrer Fane[.]
Ein Jungfraw vnd ein Windspiel drot / Ihr Reim heist
Lebendig oder todt / Bogen vnd Pfeil sie führen / Wöllen den
Streit nicht lassen ab diesen jhren Feind berühren.
Der ander Oberste allda / ein König auß Joponia / vber

---

[61]. Cf. the 1562 pamphlet, "the Duke of Persolda".

das rothe Jüdisch Heere / ein gantze Legio(n) gerüst / auf Joponisch manire.
Der Vierde auch in seiner Fahn / führet ein alten Eiß grawen Man / mit Keten groß zu binden / biß er zu Jerusalem sein Feind möcht vberwinden.
Auß Caria der Fünffte Fürst / nach dem in diesem Lande rüst / vber hundert Tausent mehre Die sind in rothe Seyden
bekleidt / mit Timorischen Wehren.
Ihr rothe Fahn mit jrrdem Topff / ein grüner Adler sieht daruff / Der Reim thut also sprechen. Entzweder ich oder du /
wir beide müssen brechen.
Parthel / Chamel sie mit sich han / Ihr Leuffer sind auß Midian / sind alles leichte Pferde

[page 4; the catchword is missing, probably because it was printed in line 22]

Pferde / Panther Thier
führen sie mit / sind allen Menschen sehr gefehre.
Gott weiß was dieser Zug bedeut / das wissen wenig Christenleut / von diesen rothen Jüden / die hinder dem rothen
Meer herkomen / den Türcken zu keinem guten.
Gott wöll dem Türcken widerstandt thun / mit den rothen Jüden zu spot un(d) hon / Darumb jhr lieben Christen / bittet
GOtte umb sein Gnad / er wöl unser leben fristen.
Vnd auch jhr Christen aile durch Gott / bittet fleissig vmb
sein Genad / das er die straff gnedig abwende / das wir nach
dieser mühseligen Zeit / erlangen ein seliges Ende.
Gedruckt zu Wien in Oesterreich
bey Leonhart Nossinger.

Translation:
a) Weller 825

[page 1]

[1] Two true reports.
The first, from Venice,
in this year 1596, the third
of June. How three legions of Red Jews, from
[5] the Caspian Mountains, behind the Red Sea, have now
come out all armed, whom [the Red Jews] Emperor Alexander
the Great left behind him enclosed in the mountains. They
want to conquer Jerusalem and the all the Jewish lands
with military might. Put to music for singing,
[10] to the tune of

Störtebecker and Gödeke Michels.[92]

The other report.
How the great Prince from Siebenbürgen
with God's help fought a great
[15] battle with the Turks, in which there were eight pashas,
of whom two were captured and three shot down.
Also, how the forces of Siebenbürgen took 90 camels, 30
mules and 50 Turkish banners, one of which was a holy
consecrated flag of the Turkish Mohammed. Also how he cut
[20] down 50 thousand Turkish soldiers, while
18 thousand Christians fell, but with the help of
Almighty God they won the battle. [This] happened this
96th year.

[page 2?]

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[92]. A popular tune of some antiquity: Loewe notes P. Fabricius, *Liederbuch*, 1603, no. 183; and Ludwig Erk and Franz Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (1893), II, 19, no. 233, which includes the notes. Klaus Störtebecker and his associate Gödeke Michels got their start running provisions through the blockade of Stockholm (as 'Vitalienbrüder'; 1389-95), but later turned to piracy, concentrating on the ships of the powerful Hanse, in the North Sea. Störtebecker was executed in 1402. He became a folk hero, and the song celebrating him was composed the year of his execution: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 36 (Berlin, 1971/reprint of 1893 edition), 459-460.

[1] To the tune of a morning song.[63]

The first report.

Listen now you Christians, young,
poor or rich, I will sing to you of God's great
[5] miracles, that came to pass recently.
When we reckoned the year 1596,
an honest merchant came from across the Red Sea to Venice, and told the city council this tale.
He brought wondrous news of Red Jews
[10] beyond the sea, who were enclosed long ago in the Caspian Mountains, and who intend to take up arms for a bitter battle. They have armed themselves and have marched in all their might against the Turk, across the Caspian Mountains. Hear now what I sing you, for it is true, no trumped-up tale.
[15] The Jews and their bold troops marched over the mountains arrayed in all their might, to take a stand in chivalrous fashion. They wanted to drive the Turks out of the Jewish lands with all their might.
Emperor Alexander the Great enclosed these Jews in
[20] the mountains. They have

[page 3]
[1] multiplied greatly. They are three legions
in total, as you have already heard.
The commander, their great king, from Persich Solde[64]
with his companions, prince of nine hundred times a
[5] thousand men, who are all clothed in tough leather, and have on their banner a maiden and a swift coursing hound; their rhyme is 'dead or alive'; they are armed with bows and arrows, and do not wish to cease fighting and attacking this their enemy.
The other commander there, a king from Joponia,[65] in
[10] charge of the Red Jewish army, has a whole legion armed in the Joponian manner.
The fourth also has on his banner a grizzled

---

[63]. A *tagweis* or *tagelied* is a song sung by lovers as they part at dawn, or simply to greet the day. What this instruction means is unclear, as the tune has been announced; it may concern the style of singing.

[64]. Cf. 'the Duke of Persolda', Weller 825; or maybe this means from [the] Persian [town of] Solda.

[65]. Japan!

old man holding great chains to bind with, until he is able to overcome his enemy at Jerusalem.
[15] The fifth prince comes from Caria and has armed five thousand more in this land. They are clothed in red silk, and armed with Timorese weapons.
[On] their banner, which is red with an earthenware pot, and a green eagle looking at it,
the rhyme goes like this: Either you or I,
[20] we must both break.[66]
They have leopards and camels with them. Their runners are from Midian, and are all light horsemen.

[page 4]
[1] They have panthers
with them and pose a serious danger to everyone.
God (alone) knows what this expedition means. Few Christians know about these Red Jews who come from behind
[5] the Red Sea, and pose a great threat to the Turks.
May God resist the Turks, and humiliate them by means of the Red Jews. Therefore, dear Christians, ask God for his mercy, that he may yet prolong our lives.
And you Christians all ask diligently for
[10] his grace, that he always mercifully avert the [just] punishment, so that we can come to a blessed end after surviving these trying times.
Printed at Vienna in Austria,
by Leonhart Nossinger.

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[66]. Cf. 1562, "Either you or I: one of us must break."

b) Weller 824[67]

Zwo warhaffte wunder seltzame
neuwe Zeitung
Die Erste:

Wie hundert mal tausend / vnd
sechs vnd neuntzig tausent Juden / nemlich das Geschlecht Roboam[68] / Gad / Asar / Isaac / Sabulon /
vnd Manasses vom Berg Caspin / dem Türcken in das Landt gefallen / vnd viel feste Stätt vnnd Schlösser eingenommen
haben / auß Venedig / Rom / Constantinopel / im Julio vnd
Augusto deß 96 Jars warhafftig geschrieben / Lieder weiß gestellet: Im Thon:
Pomey / Pomey jhr Polen / etc.

Die Ander:

Von einer erschrecklichen Mörder Geschicht / zu Leukh im Wallißland[69] den 26.
Augusti dieses 96. Jahrs verlauffen: Im Thon:
Insbruck ich muß dich laßen / etc.

Gedruckt zu Lindaw am Bodensee / bey Hans Ludwig Brem /

[page 2]

LObe Gott deinen HErren / O werde Christenheit / der mit gwalt thut zerstören / der Türcken Grimmigkeit / der so viel Jahr vnd Tag / mit mancher schweren Plag / uns Christen
hat verfolget / hört Wunder was ich sag.
Als der Türck hat vernommen / wie das die Christenheit/

---

67. Loewe, *Juden im Kaukasus*, 19-22. I place this pamphlet, Weller 824, second, as it mentions as its sources reports that reached the west in July and August; however, it is closer to the 1562 pamphlets, the common source for these two later publications.

68. Reuben, to judge by the 1562 pamphlet; a confusion with Rehobeam?

69. Flemish 'Luik', French Liège.

sey uberein gekommen / vnd geschworen einen Eid / die Tribut
also schwer / jm zgeben nimmermer / Leib / Gut / Blut darfür
zwagen / ist er erzürnet sehr.
Hat bald ein List errichtet / in seinem Ubermut / groß
Schatzung aufgerichtet / geschunden der Armen Blut / sein eigen
Volck daran / einen Unwill bekahm / altem Brauch kurtzumb zleben / bei Machomet schwur jederman.
Ob der Türcken Vorhaben / der groß Keyser Sultan / heimlich Verdruß thet tragen / doch stifft er weiter an / weil jm jetzt
diese Schantz gefehlet habe gantz / einen Krebßgang gewunnen Practick fand er auff einen glantz.
Schickt baldt seine Legaten / in das wüst gBirg Caspin den Juden da zu rahten / erlegen Schatzung bhend / damit der
groß Türck gut / möcht uben seinen Mut / sein grimmig Hertz
erkülen / an der Christen vnschuldig Blut.
Als bald gemeldte Gesandten / jr Fürtrag hetten than / die
Juden sie vmbrandten / erstachens bey eim Mann / bschlossend
kräfftig hierauff / mit ganztem hellem hauff / das Globtlandt
einzunemmen / wacker vnd munter schlagen drauff.
Lerman Lerman hort man singen / im gantzen Land
herumb / die Juden theten springen / waren toll / wild vnd
thumb / ein jeder unter jn / wolte der gröst Han seyn / das
künfftig Glück erschnappen / in zugsagt von der Welt anbegin.
Sechs hauffen waren erwehlet / der erst vom Gschlecht[70]
[Ruben / (led by) ein Oberster General über das gantze Heer /]

[page 3]

ein wilder frecher Mann / der in eim Monat bkam / zwäntzig

---

[70]. Loewe notes that the catchword has been cut off, but by comparison to the 1562 pamphlet, we see that an entire line is missing; I therefore supply the corresponding line from the 1562 version.

tausendt Pferd auffs gringste / in Küriß all angethan.
Mit seiden Gwandt gezieret / ihr Fahnen graw unnd
schwartz / in diesem thut er führen / ein Hund so in eim
hatz /
eim Hirsch nachfolget bhend / mit Goldt geschrieben sind/
nach
folgende Buchstaben : Todt odr aber lebendig.
Das ander Geschlecht Gad führet / ein Feldherr Joran
gnandt / dieser thut auch regieren / zwantzig tausent
Pferd erkandt im Fahnen gmahlet ist / ein Falck zu dieser
frist / mit
Goldt steht da geschrieben / du oder ich muß brechen
sich.
Das dritt uhralt Gschlecht Asar / ein Marggraff hoch-
geborn / der Juden heist Belsazar / hatt vnder seinem
Sporn /
fünff vnd viertzig tausendt Pferd / zu Fuß sieben vnd
zwäntzig
tausendt gmehrt / ein Jungfraw lang bekleidet / im Fahnen
steht gantz unverseert
Die hat vor ihr ein Löwen / mit auffgespertem Maul
stehn / darbey gschrifftlich wirdt gsehen / es muß alls
zscheitern
gehn / ich hoffe in der still / das Wild ich zämen wil/
in gar
kürztlichen zeiten / wirdt man sehen ein seltzam Spiel.
Das Volck Isaac[1] regieret / ein Graff von Altz lobsam/
der
hat sein Fahn gzieret / mit zwäntzig tausendt Mann / mit
Arm-
brüsten zu Rossz / ohn den verlornen Trossz / ein Held
mit einer
Ketten / führt er mit seinen armen bloß.
In seim Fahn sicht man glantzen / in Gold
auffgezeichnet
fein / ich setzs alls in die schantze / es muß gewaget
seyn / mein
Ketten zu der stundt / bindt an den Türcken Hundt /
hindurch
mit allen frewden / mit den Christen mach ich ein Bundt.
Uber den Stam(m)en Sabulon / Kriegßherr nennt sich Athan/
ein groß Hertzog von Berseban / fünffzehen tausent Mann/
zu

---

[1]. Misreading or misunderstanding of Issachar.

30 Pferd mit Bogen frey / führt Pflitsch-[72]

[page 4]

1 Daran geschrieben wirdt gfunden / mit rotem Goldt subtil/
Ich dürrer Baum zur stunden / wils Gott ich grünen wil/ diesem
zur seiten recht / führet Manasses gschlecht / ein Marggraff von
Noaren / zwey vnd viertzig tausendt Fußknecht.
5 Bekleidt mit Leder schone / kein Mensch durchstechen kan/
führet ein grüne Fahnen / darinn ein grawen Mann / der hat
Pantoffeln an / diese wort sind im Fahn / ich hab noch viel zu
erwarten / Leib vnd Leben setz ich daran.
Ist das nicht ein groß wunder / o frommer Christ ver-
10 merck / daß die Juden jetzunder / gericht haben ins Werck/ vmb
Constantinopel hrumb / der Juden ein mercklich summ / sich
täglich zu jn schlahend / wollen das Globtlandt han kurtzumb.
Ein uberfluß mit jnen / habens bracht in das Land / damit
in nichts zerrinne / an allerley Proviant / ir Edel Lande gar / ist
15 uberaus fruchtbar / Feuerwerck so vier stund brinnet / werffen
sie in die Feste dar.
Es wirt auch fürwar gschrieben / das rote wilde Meer / sey
ein Monat still blieben biß das ihr gantz Kriegßheer/ herüber
kommen sey / Gotts gwalt nimb ab hierbey / dem allein ist zu
20 wissen / was das für ein werck müß seyn.
Christus und die Propheten / habn uns vorlangst verkünd/
wie daß der Machomete / mit sampt der juden Gesind / der
Christen Glauben zwar / sollen annemmen gar / ein Hirt ein
Schaffstall werden / vom jüngsten Tag sagt die Gschrift klar.
25 O Jesu lieber HErre / deß Türcken gwalt zerstör / den

---

[72]. Loewe notes that the verse ends here; the last line and the catchword have been cut off.

Christen Glauben mehre / die Juden zu dir bekehr / gib fried
und Einigkeit / bhüt vns vor allem Leid / dein Nam ist allein
heilig / hie vnd dort in all Ewigkeit / Amen.

Translation:

Weller 824

[page 1]
[1] Two true and marvelous
reports.
The first:

How one hundred times a thousand and
[5] ninety-six thousand Jews, namely
the tribes Roboam [Reuben], Gad, Asar [Asher], Isaac [Issachar], Sabulon [Zebulon],
and Manasses [Manasseh] have attacked the land of the Turks from out of Mount Caspin, and have conquered many fortified cities and castles, truly written from Venice,
[10] Rome and Constantinople in July and August of the 96th year, and put to music, in the tune of
"Pomey, Pomey, ihr Polen, etc."

The second:

Concerning the horrible story of a murder
[15] that happened at Liège in Wallonia on the
26th of August, in this 96th year,
to the tune
"Innsbruck ich muß dich lassen, etc."

Printed at Lindau on Lake
[20] Constance, by Hans Ludwig Brem.

[page 2]
[1] Praise God your Lord, o worthy Christendom, whose
might destroys Turkish cruelty, which has
tormented us Christians for so long now with many grave assaults, now hear my wondrous tidings!
[5] When the [Great] Turk heard that Christendom had agreed, and sworn an oath, not to pay him the
heavy tribute anymore, and to risk body, goods and blood for this, he was greatly angered.
He soon came up with a cunning ruse, in his
[10] arrogance, and levied a huge tax, sucking the blood of the poor, such that his own subjects no longer wished to live merely according to their old customs, and everyone swore by Mohammed. The great Emperor and Sultan was greatly displeased in his own mind by the opinion of the
[15] Turks, but he provoked them further, because he had never had so good an opportunity, so he 'went

backwards'[73] [changed his mind] and came up with a very clever stratagem. He sent his legates swiftly to the wild mountains of Caspin, to order the Jews there to pay their tax quickly, so that the good Great Turk could vent his
[20] spleen and cool his raging heart with innocent Christian blood. When these legates had said their piece,
the Jews surrounded them and stabbed them all, to a man, and on the strength of this deed, took a firm decision to conquer the Promised Land, and to attack [their enemies] heartily and in a lively fashion.
[25] 'Lerman, Lerman' they sang, all through the land.
The Jews jumped for joy, they were wild and crazy with joy. They all of them wanted to be the cock of the walk and grab their future happiness, promised to them since the world began. Six great bands of men were chosen, the
[30] first from the tribe [of Reuben, led by a general over the entire army.

[page 3]

[1] [He is a] wild and fearless man, who in one month easily gathered twenty thousand horsemen all armed in cuirasses. Their banner is adorned with silk cloth, in grey and black, and on it is depicted a hound, hunting,
[5] pursuing a hart swiftly, and written in gold are these letters: Dead or alive. The second tribe, Gad, is led by a general called Joran, who also commands twenty thousand horsemen. On their banner is painted a falcon, and
[10] in gold is written: You or I must break. The third ancient tribe, Asar [Asher], a high-born margrave of the Jews called Belsazar, who commands forty-five thousand horse, supported by twenty-seven thousand foot. On their banner is a maiden in a long dress, untouched by a lion
[15] before her with its mouth wide open, and written there for all to read: Everything must go to bits / But in quiet moments I hope / I plan to tame the beast / soon there will be a spectacle passing strange.
[20] The people of Isaac [Issachar] is ruled by the worthy Count of Altz. His banner is supported by twenty thousand mounted crossbowmen not counting the lost baggage train. A hero with a chain he holds with his bare arms. On his banner, worked finely in gold, shine forth the words: I
[25] risk everything on the occasion / it must be attempted/

---

[3]. "Krebßgang gewinnen", according to Alfred Götze's *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar* (Berlin 1967[7]), 141, means "to go backwards"

straight off I'll bind the Turkish dog with my chains / from now on will I happily / ally myself with the Christians. The general in command of the tribe of Sabulon [Zebulon] is called Athan, a grand duke of
[30] Berseban [Beersheba?], he [leads] fifteen thousand horsemen armed with bows [the following fragment is obscure].

[page 4]

[1] On it is written in fine red gold: I will green the wizened tree, so God will, immediately; on the right side of this, the tribe of Manasses [Manasseh] is led by a Margrave of Noara, with forty-two thousand footsoldiers.
[5] Clothed in good leather that no man can pierce. He has a green banner, depicting a greybeard in slippers, and these words are on the banner: I still have much to hope for / I risk my body and my life for it. Is it not a great wonder, o pious Christian, take note, that the
[10] Jews have now arrayed around Constantinople a large host of Jews who attack the Turks daily, and wish to conquer the Promised Land next? They brought a great surplus with them on campaign, so that they should lack for nothing. Their marvelous land is exceedingly rich in all varieties
[15] of foodstuffs. They cast into that fortress fire-works that burn for four hours. It is also written that the wild Red Sea[74] stood still for a month, until their entire army had passed through it. Take note of God's
[20] power from this instance. He alone knows what this deed signifies. Christ and the prophets announced to us long ago that the Mohammedan[s] and the Jewish rabble will take on the Christian faith entirely, and there will be one shepherd and one sheepfold. Scripture tells clearly about the Last Day [Doomsday].

[25] O Jesus, dear Lord, break the might of the Turks, increase the Christian faith, convert the Jews, give peace and good accord, save us from all suffering. Your name alone is holy, on earth as in heaven for ever and ever. Amen.[75]

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[74]. The Red Sea is here conflated with the Sambation/Sabbation.

[75]. This touchingly naive paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer provides us with a striking bridge between the theatre of secular war and the eschatological drama of God's final battle.

APPENDIX B: THE 'UNCLEAN NATIONS', GOG AND MAGOG, AND THE TEN TRIBES

1. *Commodiani Carmina* (before 312 C.E.), ed. Joseph Martin:[1]

Desidet <populus> absconsus ultimus sanctus,
Et quidem ignotus a nobis ubi moretur.

Per novem tribum agant et dimidiam ipsi,
Omissae duae tribum haec sunt et dimidia nobis.
Praecipitque Christus per legem vivere priscos.
Vivamus nunc omnes, novellae traditio legis,
Lex ut ipsa docet! Apertius indico vobis.
Obrelictae duae tribum et dimidia : quare

Ab istis dimidia tribum? Ut martyres essent,
Bellum cum infer<r>et electis suis in orbem,
Seu certe sanctorum chorus prophetarum ad illam
Consurgeret plebem, qui frenum imponeret illis,
Obsceni quos equi trucidarunt calci remissa;
Nec suerit ad manus pacem aliquando tenere.
Semotae sunt isti tribuum, ut mysteria Christi
Omnia per istas conpleatur saeculo toto.

Sunt autem de scelere duorum fratrum enatae,
Auspicio quorum facinus secutae fuere.
Non merito tales dispersi sunt?
Conveniunt iterum propter mysteria castris.
Tunc autem properant conpleri legis narrata.
Omnipotens Christus descendit ad suos electos,

Obscurati nobis qui fuerunt tempore tanto,
Milia fot [tot] facti; illa est gens vera caelestis.
Non natus ante patrem moritur ibi, neque dolores
In suis corporibus sentiunt ut ulcera nata.
Pausantes in lecto suo mature recedunt
Omnia conpletentes leges, ideoque tutantur.
Transire iubentur ad Dominum partibus istis,
Exsiccat fluvium quibus sicut ante traiectis,
Nec minus et Dominus ipse producit cum illis.
Transiit ad nostra, veniunt cum rege caeleste.
In quorum itinere quod dicam, quo Deus educet,
Subsidunt montes ante illos et fontes erumpunt:
Caelestem populum gaudet creatura videre.

---

[1]. *Commodiani Carmina, Instructionum liber* I, cap. xlii, "De populo absconso sancto omnipotentis Christi Dei vivi" CChr CXXVIII.34ff.

Hic tamen festinant matre<m> defendere capta<m> [Jerusalem].
Rex autem iniquus [Antichrist], qui obtinet, illum ut audit,
In partem boreae refugit et colligit omnes.
Sed cum se inlidet exercitu Dei tyrannus,
Terrore caelesti prosternuntur milites eius,
Ipse cum infando conprehenditur pseudopropheta;
Decreto Domini traduntur vivi gehennae.

2. Anderson cites a different passage, from the *Carmen apologeticum*, vv. 932-939:[2]

Et clamant pariter ad caelum voce deflentes,
Ut Deus illis subveniat verus ab alto.
Tum Deus omnipotens, ut terminet cuncta, quae dixi,
Producet populum celatum tempore multo:
Sunt autem Iudaei, trans Persida flumine clausi,
Quos usque in finem voluit Deus ibi morari.
Captivitas illos ibidem redegit ut essent,
Ex duodena tribu nove semis ibi morantur. (60-61)

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2. *Alexander's Gate*, 60-61.

3. Ambrose, *De Fide ad Gratianum*:[3]

Gog iste Gothus est, quem iam videmus exisse, de quo promittitur nobis futura victoria, dicente Domino: 'Et depraedabuntur eos qui depraedati eos fuerant, et despoliabunt eos qui sibi spolia detraxerant, dicit Dominus. Eritque in die illa, dabo Gog (hoc est, Gothis) locum nominatum, monumentum Israel multorum virorum congestum, qui supervenerunt ad mare; et per circuitum struet os vallis, et obruet illic Gog et totam multitudinem eius..."

[3]. Book ii, 16; 495, 138: *PL* XVI, 611-612. Cited from Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 9; Ambrose has just quoted Ezek. 38,14.

4. Jerome, *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*:[4]

Scio quendam Gog et Magog tam de praesenti loco quam de Exechiel ad Gothorum nuper in terra nostra vagantium historiam retulisse: quod utrum verum sit, proelii ipsius fine monstratur. Et certe Gothos omnes retro eruditi magis Getas quam Gog et Magog appellare consueverant.

5. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*:[5]

Undecimus in Hiezechielem explanationum in extrema sua parte contra Gog et Magog vaticinium continebit et usque ad exordium civitatis in monte positae et templi in ea siti veniet Hierusalem. Quem si, adiuvante Domino et sua mysteria disserente, potuero ad calcem usque perducere, diu mihi erit multumque dubitandum, utrum ad spiritale[6] templum debeam mittere manus an aperte ignorantiam confiteri, praesertim cum et apud Iudaeos et apud nos super interpretatione eius grande silentium sit, aliis in futuro tempore exstruendum [10] esse censentibus, aliis bono quidem animo, sed imperito, scientibus spiritalia esse quae dicuntur et tamen ipsa spiritalia, quomodo disseri debeant, nescientibus. Et interim, ut praesentis operis cura nos teneat, et scias, o virgo [sic: virgine] Christi Eustochium, orandum tibi esse pro nobis. In prophetia [15] difficillima illud breviter admonebo, quod vir nostrae aetatis haud ignobilis,[7] ad imperatorem scribens, super hac natione dixerit: *Gog iste Gothus est*,[8] cui qua ratione possint omnia quae in ea scripta sunt coaptari, non est meum sed eorum qui hoc putant disserere.

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4. Gen. 10,2; *CChr* LXXII.11, 18-22; *PL* XXIII.951.

5. Ez. 11; *CChr* LXXV.480, 1-19; *PL* XXV.325-326.

6. Variant: *spirituale*.

7. Jerome means Ambrose.

8. Ambrose, *De fide ad Gratianum*, ii, 16; 138; PL XVI, 611-612.

6. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezekielem libri XIV*:[9]

[1476]... Igitur Iudaei et nostri iudaizantes putant Gog gentes esse Scythicas immanes et innumerabiles quae trans Caucasum montem et Maeotim paludem et propter Caspium mare ad Indiam usque tendantur [1480]-- et has post mille annorum regnum esse a diabolo commovendas --, quae veniant in terram Israel ut pugnent contra sanctos, multis secum gentibus congregatis: primum Mosoch quos Iosephus interpretatur Cappadoces; dein Thubal quos idem Iberos vel Hispanos, Hebraei Italos suspican- [1485] tur, habentes secum in exercitu Persas, Aethiopes et Libyas; Gomer quoque et Thogorma quos Galatas et Phrygas interpretantur; Sabaeos quoque et Dedan et Carthaginenses sive Tharsis; et hoc esse, quod Ioannes quoque in sua ponit Apocalypsi [Rev. 20,7]: *"Et cum finiti fuerint mille anni, solvetur Sata- [1490] nas* de custodia sua, et egredietur ut seducat gentes in quattuor angulis terrae, Gog et Magog, ut congreget eos ad bellum: quorum numerus est sicut arena maris. Et ascenderunt per latitudinem terrae, et circumdederunt castra sanctorum et civitatem dilectam. Et descendit ignis a Deo de caelo, et devoravit eos; et [1495] diabolus qui seducebat eos missus est in stagnum ignis et noctibus in saecula saeculorum," non intelligentes [sc. Iudei et iudaizantes] totum volumen Ioannis, quod Revelationis titulo praenotatur, esse mysticum, et revelatione nos indigere ut possimus cum propheta [1500] dicere: *Revela oculos meos, et conciderabo mirabilia de lege tua.* Alii vero terrenum sensum relinquentes et iudaicas atque aniles fabulas quae noxiae sunt, et acquiescentes sibi detrahunt in profundum, nimium ad alta conscendunt et multo peiores fingunt nenias, ut in caelesti Hierusalem diaboli et [1505] omnis exercitus eius bella describant et sub *etymologia* gentium singularum interpretentur spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus. Quae nos omnia lectoris arbitrio concedentes, non tam aliena damnare quam ecclesiasticam explanationem affirmare conabimur. 'Gog' graeco sermone *doma*, latino 'tec- [1510] tum' dicitur; porro 'Magog' interpretatur 'de tecto' -- omnis igitur superbia et falsi nominis scientia quae eregit se contra notitiam veritatis, his nominibus demonstratur.

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[9]. Ez. 11, 38,1-23; *CChr* LXXV.525, 1476-1490; and 526, 1501 - 527, 1512.

7. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XX, ch. 11:[10]

Gentes quippe istae, quas appellat Gog et Magog, non sic sunt accipiendae, tamquam sint aliqui in aliqua parte terrarum barbari constituti, sive quos quidam [sc. Hieronymus] suspicantur Getas et Massagetas propter litteras horum nominum primas, sive aliquos alios alienigenas et a Romano iure seiunctos.[11] Toto namque orbe terrarum significati sunt isti esse, cum dictum est 'nationes quae sunt in quattuor angulis terrae', easque subiecit esse 'Gog et Magog'.

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[10]. *CChr* LXVIII; *PL* XLI.676.

[11]. This accusation (that Jerome suspected Gog and Magog to be the Getas and Massagetas because they shared the first initials of their names) does not fit with Jerome's rejection of this interpretation in his *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*; see text 4, above.

8. Adso (954), *Libellus de Antichristo ad Gerbergam Reginam*:[12]

Concerning Gog and Magog:[13]

Tunc exsurgent ab Aquilone spurcissimae gentes, quas Alexander rex inclusit in Goch et Magoch.[14] Haec sunt viginti duo regna, quorum numerus est sicut arena maris. Quod cum audierit Romanorum rex, convocato exercitu debellabit eos et prosternet eos usque ad internecionem. Hic semper habebit prae oculis Scripturam ita dicentem: Rex Romanorum omne sibi vindicet regnum terrarum. Omnes ergo insulas et civitates devastabit, et universa idolorum templa destruet, et omnes paganos ad baptismum convocabit, et per omnia templa crux Christi erigetur: Judaei etiam tunc convertentur ad Dominum.

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[12]. *PL* CI (in second volume of Alcuin's works), 1289ff.

[13]. *PL* CI.1296b.

[14]. Here both Gog and Magog are a country or place, as Magog is in Ezekiel 38.

9. Honorius Augustodunensis (+1130):[15]

1 In India est mons Caspia, a quo Caspium mare vocatur. Inter quem et mare Gog et Magog ferocissimae gentes, a magno Alexandro inclusae feruntur. Quae humanis carnibus vel caudis bestiis vescuntur.

10. *Lucidarius* (12th century):[16]

1 In India ist ein berc der heizet Caspius, da von heizet daz Speniche mer. zwissent dem mer unde dem berge, vermurte der kunic Alexander zueiger slaste lût, die hezent Goc unde Magoc. die lûte ascent nith wen rowe tier
5 unde menschen fleisch.

Translation:

[1] In India is a mountain called Caspius, after which is named the Spanish Sea. Between the sea and this mountain, king Alexander walled up two nations,
called Gog and Magog. These people eat nothing but raw
[5] animal and human flesh.

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[15]. *De imagine mundi libri tres*, *PL* CLXXII.123d: ch. XI, "de India". This brief passage appears in the midst of a description of the monstrous and fabulous peoples of 'India', including the pygmies and the cranes, the *macrobios* and the griffons, people who eat their aged parents, dog-headed people, *monoculi*, cyclopses, people with one foot, which they use for shade, people whose face is in their chest, people who live on the odor of apples, etc.

[16]. This 12th-century German work was often copied, then printed in the 14th and 15th centuries. Its main source is Honorius' *Imago mundi*: ed. Felix Heidlauf (Weidmann, 1970²; = Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 28), 10,27 - 11,3.

11. *Lamprecht's Alexander* (c. 1130):[17]

Allexander ward kunt getan,
zwie geslechtte sessen in Paran,
die fúgten der weltte gros not,
manig helt geleg von in dot
und weren niut gůt nach gebur.
mangen ward ir leben sur:
wa si namen über hang
[missing]
wib und kind slůgen sy ze hant;
Og und Magog waren sy genant.
Allexander zoch dar
mit einer krefftiger schar
und betwang sy sunder dank
und treib sy an allen wank
in ein gebirge gros,
daz an die Pigine stost,
an daz wiettende mer,
da vermuret er daz selb her:
er treibs durch ein enges tall,
da der weg was smal,
ein mur von einem berge unz an den andren zoch
gelich den bergen hoch
und besaczt mit gůtter wer.
danach zoch er mit sinem her.

---

[17]. *Die Basler Bearbeitung von Lamprechts Alexander*, ed. Richard Maria Werner (Tübingen, 1881; = *BLVS*, 154), from the fifteenth-century manuscript in the University Library at Basel, E VI 26; this passage is on pages 186-187 of Werner's edition. See also the edition of Karl Kinzel, *Lamprechts Alexander nach drei Texten* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1884. Kinzel describes the manuscript traditions and dating in a useful introduction.

Translation:

[4108] Alexander was told
that two tribes living in Paran
[4110] were causing the world great trouble.
Many a brave warrior lay dead, killed by them,
and they did not behave themselves as they ought to.
Many were tired of life:
for they [Gog and Magog] were becoming very powerful
[4115] [missing]
They slew women and children without hesitation;
Og and Magog are their names.
Alexander set out
with a mighty army
[4120] and conquered them without the prospect of booty[18]
and drove them without hesitating
into a great mountain range
that borders the Pigine,
by the Raging Sea,
[4125] there he walled in that same army [Og and Magog]:
he drove them through a narrow valley,
where the path was narrow.
and built a wall from one mountain to another,
as high as the mountains themselves,
[4130] and well-defended with strong ramparts.
Then he marched on with his army.

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[18]. I.e., for the common good.

12. The Latin letter of Prester John (c. 1165):[19]

[15.] Habemus alias gentes, quae solummodo vescuntur carnibus tam hominum quam brutorum animalium ac abortivum, quae nunquam timent mori. Et cum ex his aliquis moritur, tam parentes quam extranei avidissime comedunt eum, dicentes: "Sacratissimum est humanam carnem manducare." [16.] Nomina quarum sunt haec: Gog et Magog, Amic, Agic, Arenar, Defar, Fontineperi, Conei, Samantae, Agrimandi, Salterei, Armei, Anofragei, Annicefelei, Tasbei, Alanei.[20] [17.] Istas nempe et alias multas generationes Alexander puer magnus, rex Macedonum, conclusit inter altissimos montes in partibus aquilonis. Quas cum volumus ducimus super inimicos nostros et data eis licentia a maiestate nostra, quod eos devorent, continuo nullus hominum, nullum animalium remanet, quin statim devoretur. [18.] Inimicis namque devoratis, reducimus eas ad propris loca. Et ideo reducimus, quia, si absque nobis reverterentur, omnes homines et universa animalia, quae invenirent, penitus devorarent. [19.] Istae quidem pessimae generationes ante consummationem saeculi tempore Antichristi egredientur a quatuor partibus terrae et circu[m]ibunt universa castra sanctorum et civitatem magnam Romam, quam proposuimus dare filio nostro, qui primo nascetur nobis, cum universa Italia et tota Germania et utraque Gallia, cum Anglia, Britannia et Scotia; dabimus ei Hispaniam et totam terram usque ad mare coagulatum. [20.] Nec mirum, quia numerus earum est sicut harena, quae est in litore maris, quibus certe nulla gens, nullum regnum resistere poterit.

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[9]. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 911.

[20]. These are the other names associated with the tradition of the 22 or 24 'unclean peoples' originally supposed to have been walled up by Alexander.

13. Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* (c. 1165):[21]

De Captivitate Decem Tribuum
'Contra hunc ascendit Salmanasar, rex Assyriorum, et factus est ei Osee tributarius. Cumque deprehendisset rex Assyriorum quod Osee rebellare niteretur per Susac regem Aegypti, cui munera miserat, obsedit eum, et vinctum misit in carcerem Ninive, et obsedit Samariam tribus annis, et cepit eam anno nono Osee et sexto Ezechiae, et transtulit Israel in Assyrios,' scilicet septem tribus quae remanserant, 'et posuit eos iuxta fluvium Gozan ultra montes Medorum et Persarum.'

The text in half-quotes is cited, with some abbreviations and variations, from the Vulgate (Liber Malachim 17,3),[22] which reads:

3 contra hunc ascendit Salmanassar
rex Assyriorum
et factus est ei Osee servus reddebat-
que illi tributa
4 cumque deprehendisset rex Assyrio-
rum Osee
quod rebellare nitens misisset nun-
tios ad Sua regem Aegypti
ne praestaret tributa regi Assyrio-
rum sicut singulis annis solitus erat
obsedit eum et vinctum misit in car-
cerem
5 pervagatusque est omnem terram
et ascendens Samariam obsedit eam
tribus annis
6 anno autem nono Osee cepit rex As-
syriorum Samariam
et transtulit Israhel in Assyrios
posuitque eos in Ala et in Habor
iuxta fluvium Gozan in civitatibus
Medorum

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21. Lib. IV Regum [II Kings], xxvi, in: *PL* CXCVIII, col. 1407.

22. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber, O.S.B. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983³), IV Reg. 17,3-6.

14. The Berlin manuscript of the middle High German translation of the Latin letter of Prester John:[23]

[32] Ein wazzer strichet da bi
vber tageweide dri
an eime ende durch min lant
vnde vellet an den selben sant:
nie gesach man so groz vlut gan.
[33] Wazzers hat sie keinen tran:
daz da vluzet daz sint steine
vnd groze bloch gemeine.
Da sie vellet in den sant,
da verswindet sie zu hant
unde enwirdet niemant geware
war stoc oder stein hin vare.
Nicht weiz ich, wa von ez si,
in der wochen tage dri
jo vor tage stet ez stille:
so vert vber swer da wille.
[41] Die selben steine die so vlozzen
haben ein volk beslozzen
der iudischen geslechte mine,
der en ist kein die mir nicht dine.

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[23]. The only surviving manuscript is that listed by Zarncke as belonging to the "Berliner Bibliothek", Ms. germ. Oct. 56, fol. 1^a to 13^b, published by Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 951-952; lines 94-96 and 1-17; stanzas 33-39; also published by Hoffmann von Fallersleben in the *Altdeutsche Blätter* I, 308-324.

Translation:

32 At one end of my lands,
a river flows,
three days' march in length,
and flows into that same sand (the Sandy Sea):
no-one ever saw so great a river.

33 It has not a drop of water in it:
what flows are stones
and great sharp-edged blocks of wood.
Where it runs into the sand,
It disappears entirely
And no-one will ever find out
where the wood and rocks end up.
I do not know why,
but on three days of the week,
just before day-break it stands still,
so that anyone can cross who will.

41 These very stones flowing therein
hold enclosed a people of Jewish stock
who are under my sway;
there is not one who does not serve me.

15. Text from the early sixteenth-century Ambras-Wiener manuscript of the Letter of Prester John; version of the early 14th century:[24]

41 Vernym was ich mayne:
enhalb des phlumes der staine
die zehen geschlaͨcht der Juden sint
besperret, man, weib vnd auch kindt,
mit einem gebirg, das wunder hoch ist,
die nymmer mer dhaynen tag noch dhain frist
von derselben vancknuͤsse kamen
vnd irdischen man nie me vernamen,
die Alexander bey alten zeiten,
der da wunderlich hiess nahen vnd weiten,
also lebentige daynne het vertan:
die ich auch in meinem gebot han.
Sy iehent, sy haben herren vnd kuͤnige vnder in;
on zweyfel ich ir aller herre bin.
ir zins gebent sy mir,
vcn der warheit das sag ich dir,
ze herren sy auch vnnser iehent,
wenn sy vnnser gepot sehent.

Translation:

41 Hear what I say:
the other side of the river of stones,
the ten tribes of the Jews are
enclosed, men, women and children,
by a mountain [range] that is marvelously high.
They will never again come out, not on any day or at any time, from this, their prison,
and never have heard more of earthly men.
Alexander, who long ago did wonders,
commanding [the mountains] to come together and go apart,
enclosed all of them therein alive;
and I am lord over them all.
They claim to have lords and kings among them,
but there is no doubt that I am lord of them all.
They pay me their tribute,
and I tell you truly,
they acknowledge me as their master,
when they see my power and might.

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24. Vienna, Ambras- und Hofbibliothek, fol. 235[b] to the end of the manuscript; published by Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, 963, vv. 571-588, stanza 41; for dating and details of the manuscript, see Zarncke, *ibid.*, 955ff.

16. Godfrey of Viterbo (1125-1202), *Pantheon*.[25]

[19] Vicit [Alexander] Amazonides, ibi rex, vicitque
leones, [20] Tunc unicornes, vicitque varios dracones,
Qua populus Garamas nudud arare solet.
Vidit Hebraeorum populos quasi millia centum,
Sub duce Salmanasar captos inibique retentos,
Qui de Samaria praeda potentis erant.
[25] Fertur Alexander hac plebe petente rogari,
Eius ut auxilio queat in patriam revocari.
Rex, ubi res patuit, non miserebor, ait.
Si populo peccante, Deus vos hic relegavit,
Iussa Dei caeli per me nequeunt vacuari,
[30] Ut Deus instituit, sic maneatis, ait.
Insuper ipse preces devoto corpore fudit,
Ut Deus hos faceret, alpina rupe recludi,
Ne magis hinc habeant, quod petit ipse fuit.
Ardua montana fuerant hinc inde remota,
[35] Quae rex transposita videt huc, coniunctaque tota,
Concludunt populos, continuantque loca.
Author reddit rationem cur mon-
tes translati sint, utrum per preces
Alexandri vel alio iudicio.
[40] Rege petente fit hoc, sed non prece traduce regis,
Nec prece pagani, fieri tam grandia legi,
Sed prece Christicolae, saepe venire solent.
Dummodo transferri montes, rex forte perorat.
Incidit in punctum fati quia venerat hora,
[45] Nam si non peteret rex, tamen ista forent.
De Goth et Magoth quos Alexan-
der inter montes conclusit.
Finibus Indorum species fuit una virorum,
Goth erat atque Magoth, dictum cognomen eorum,
[50] De causis quorum, scribere pauca volo.
Ex aliis scriptis poteris cognoscere quid scit,
Narrat Esaias, Isidorus, Apocalypsis,
Tangit etiam in titulis magna sibylla suis.
Carnibus humanis solet haec gens sordida vesci,
[55] Quid sit rex, vel lex, vel dux, vel ius ibi nescit,
Regula tunc illis normaque nulla fuit.
Fertur ab his lupus atque canis vel rana vorari,
Funeribus voluit Goth, atque Magoth, saturari,
[267,1] Tuba cadaveribus vescitur ore pari.

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[25]. *Pantheon sive Universitatis Libri, qui Chronici appellantur, xx, Omnes omnium seculorum et gentium, tam sacras quam prophanas Historias complectentes* (Basel, 1559), part XI, 266, line 19ff.

Patribus ipsorum tumulus fit venter eorum,
Tumbaque natorum patris est in ventere suorum,
Tale dedit populo vita ferina forum.
[5] Turpia sunt plura, quibus utitur atra figura,
Vidit Alexander quid turba facit peritura,
Praeparat etiam meritis reddere digna suis.
Montes ob hanc causam tenet hanc sub tegmine clausam,
Sic quod in aeternum discedere non erit ausa,
[10] Ne ferat exemplum, vita nefande malum.
O lector, Goth atque Magoth, vis scire quid est hoc?
Tecta super tecta,[16] resonat haec nomina lecta,
Denique multiplici tegmine tecta fuit.
Gens ea quae tanto conamine clausa tenetur,
[15] Fine dato mundi, post fortior egredietur,
Tunc quoque deficiet lex nova, lexque vetus.
Tunc Antichristi robur praestabitur isti,
Ut queant Ecclesiis gens ipsa resistere Christi,
Ipsaque Christicolis tunc gravis hostis erit.
Tunc rex Romanus surget, testante sibylla,
Viribus imperii qui gentem destruet illam,
Qui rex Ausoniae fiet et Italiae.
Nomen etiam ille Dei conscriptum fronte tenebit,
Auratis laminis, cui mundus pace favebit,
[25] Postea conversus religiosus erit.
Christi sine patris nomen, iussi deitatis
Deferet auratis laminis in fronte ligatis,
Hostibus iratis poelia dando satis.
Denique pro Christo statuet dimittere Romam,
[30] Religione bona deponet in urbe coronam,
Stare Hierosolymis, vivere mente bona.
Huius erit constans animus longaevaque vita,
Tunc convertetur Iudaeus et Israëlita,
Annis centenis rex remanebit ita.
[35] Ex tunc terrigenis iam non erit ulla potestas,
Grandis et infesta populis tribulatio restat,
Pax abolenda perit, turbidus orbis erit.
Ista sibyllinis scriptis praeconia dixi,
Si nec in his contentus eris, patet Apocalypsis,
[40] Et reliqui libri, dent potiora tibi.

In part X, however, the Jews are saved, and thus specifically excluded from the ranks of Antichrist's servants, who are Gog and Magog enclosed by Alexander:[17]

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[16]. See Augustine's etymological description, above, no. 7.

[17]. *Pantheon*, 257.

[3]... et cum completi fuerunt 122 anni, Iudaei conver-
[5] tentur ad Dominum, et erit ab omnibus sepulchrum eius gloriosum. In diebus illis salvabitur Israël, et habitabit confidenter. In illo tempore surget princeps iniquitatis de tribu Dan, qui vo-
[10] cabitur Antichristus. Hic erit filius perditionis, caput superbiae, magister erroris, plenitudo malitiae, qui subvertet orbem, et faciet prodigia et signa magna per falsas simulationes:
[15] deludet autem per artem magicam multos, ita ut ignis de coelo descendere videatur. Et minuentur anni sicut menses, et menses sicut septimana, et septimana sicut dies, et dies sicut hora. Et ex-
[20] urgent ab Aquilonae spurcissimae gentes, quas Alexander rex inclusit, Goth videlicet et Magoth. Haec duodecim regna, quorum numerus est sicut arena maris.

17. Hugh of St. Cher (c.1200-c.1263), *Postillae in Bibliam*:[28]

[D11] *Et factus est sermo domini ad me dicens: Fili hominis, pone faciam tuam contra gog etc.* [Ez. 38,1-2] Istud capitulum dividitur in tres partes. In prima parte dicitur quod gog et magog congregabuntur exercitum suum et venient in terram promissio-[15]nis. In secunda parte eorum propositum declaratur, ibi: *In die illa ascendent sermones etc.* In tertia parte convertit sermonem suum ad gog, et replicat eius adventum iam a multis temporibus ante prophetatum, et ad ultimum ponit eius destructionem et suorum, ibi: *Propterea vaticinare fili hominis etc.* Quaeritur au-[20]tem in hoc loco quis sit iste gog, et quis sit iste magog? Hieronymus illud tamen exponit de hereticis qui impugnant ecclesiam, et reputat fabulosum esse quod dicunt iudaei, qui volunt hoc exponere dicentes gog et magog ad letteram esse duas gentes quae in fine mille annorum venient contra iudeos et destruentur a suo messia, [25] quem adhuc expectant. et hoc satis patet in illa Glossa "Judei et nostri iudaizantes etc.", et etiam in originali. Notandum tamen quod quantum ad hoc non est fabula, quin gog et magog sint duae gentes aquilonares: quas quidam dicunt getas et massagetas. Getae sunt gothi. Unde Isidorus in libro etymologiarum. Gothi [30] a magog filio iaphet nominati putantur de similitudine ultimae syllabae, quos Moraliter: *Et factus est sermo domini ad me dicens: Fili hominis pone faciem tuam contra gog etc.* Gog interpretatur tectum, per hoc intelligitur superbi, vel ipsa superbiae excellentia. Superbi enim volunt semper ascendere super tecta ut [35] videantur. Magog autem interpretatur de tecto, et significat filias superbiae quarum [239^{v}, E, 1] syllabae, quos veteri magis getas quam gothos vocaverunt: gens fertis et potentissima, corporis mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. Massagetae autem sicut idem dicit Isidorus ex scythicarum origine sunt. Et dicti massagetae quasi graves id est forte getae. Alii [5] dicunt has duas gentes gog et magog ab alexandro magno in partibus macedoniae [!] conclusas, ubi tantum sunt multiplicatae ut vigintiquattuor regna de se reddidissent. Sane potest dici de hoc quod gentes aliquae sunt sic vocatae quaecumque sint. Unum quantum [10] ad historiam possumus dicere: quod istae gentes forte venerunt cum

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[28]. Basel: Amerbach, 1504; on Ezekiel 38, fol. 239^{r}, D - 239^{v}, F; "Expositio Ca. XXXVIII [of Ezekiel]".

nabuchodonosor ad destruendam hierosolymae, et multi mala fecerunt iudaeis, et ideo eorum destructio praedicitur quae facta est a medis et persis, quoniam et chaldaei ab eis [15] devicti sunt: ita dicunt quidam. Verius potest dici et fidelibus quod in hoc capitulo praedicit persecutionem ecclesiae iustorum, vel quae quotidie fit ab hereticis, vel quae fiet ab antichristo in temporibus ultimis. Et hoc bene competit quod propheta in ultimis suis visionibus de extremeis temporibus loquitur. Sicut enim in sequentibus videt remunerationem sanctorum in visione [20] templi et distributione terrae: Ita hic videt persecutionem iustorum, quia per multas tribulationes intrabunt sancti extremi in regna coelorum. Ideo credimus hic non esse aliud sensum litteralem quam de persecutione futura per antichristum, quae designatur per gog et magog. Omnis enim multitudo reproborum per eos intelligitur. Vicesimo libro de civitate dei [25] dicit Augustinus quod dicit Hieronymus. Gog et magog ecclesiam dei persecuturos non sic intelligitur tanquam isti sint aliqui in aliquam parte terrarum barbari constituti, sed per eos malorum universitas intelligitur.

Concerning the Ten Tribes:[39]

[F, 23] *Et educam te et omnem exercitum tuum.* Tangit secundum quosdam hic quod praedictae duae [25] gentes modo dicuntur inclusae sicut et decem tribus, sed tunc exibunt cum antichristo. Vel Educam te, quia modo mysterium operatur iniquitatis id est secreta iniquitatis et latens fit, sed tunc educetur et aperietur.

[39]. 239^{v}, F, 23-27.

18. Hugo Ripelin de Argentina, O.P. (1210-1270), *Compendium theologicae veritatis*:[30]

[Liber Septimus]
1 De gog et magog, Cap. x.

De gog et magog dicunt quidam quod sunt decem tribus [25] ultra montes caspios clause, tamen ita quod bene possent exire si permitterentur, sed non permittuntur a regina
5 amazonum sub cuius regno et ditione vivunt. Has dicunt iudei in fine seculi exituras et venturas in hierusalem, et cum suo messya ecclesiam destructuras. Alii dicunt quod per gog et magog itelli-[30]gitur exercitus antichristi qui in fine seculi veniet ecclesiam
10 expugnare. Per gog secundum glossam illi per quos latenter dyabolus persequitur fideles. Per magog autem illi per quos aperte vel idem qui prius tempore antichristi occulte, et postmodum aperte ecclesiam persequitur. Secundum Augustinum gog refertur ad gentes,
15 ma-[35]gog ad dyabolum, quia gog occultatio interpretatur, magog detectio.

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[30]. Ulm: Johannes Zainer, 1481 (Hain 437; *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegedrucke* 600). The passages reproduced here are from book 7. Other printings include Ulm, no year (the volume in which it is bound, Wolfenbüttel Li 4° 2, dates from 1473 (Hain 435); Paris [Francis Regnault], 1508 and Venice, 1588.

19. Eike von Repgow, the *Sächsische Weltchronik*, early thirteenth century:[31]

Alexander, dô he vele wunders hædde gedân, he vôr ôch vor sineme dôde an dat gebirge, dat dar het montes caspii. dar vant he inne tein geslechte der gevangenen Joden. de mochten wol ût komen unde ne môsten, dor dat se godes vorsakeden unde afgode ane baeden. Dô Alexander vornam ere missedât, he lêt se bemûren dar ane, of se ût wolden, dat se ne mochten. De mûren ne konde al minsklich arbeit vullen bringen. Dô bat Alexander god, dat he eme dar tô hulpe, wente se weder gode gedân hadden. dô ructe dat gebirge tô samene doe ALexanderes gebede, de ôch ên heiden was, unde beslôt de Joden dar inne. Dar solen se inne bliven bit an de tit dat it nâe dem jungesten dage. sô solen se ûtkomen unde michele slachtinge an deme volke begân.

Translation:

[1] Alexander, after having accomplished many wondrous deeds, travelled before his death to the mountains called the Caspian Mountains. Therein he found the ten tribes of the imprisoned Jews. They wanted to come out but could not [5] because they had forsaken God and worshipped idols. When Alexander learned of their abominations, he let them be walled up therein so that they could not come out, even if they wanted to. But no human efforts could ever achieve the construction of these walls. So Alexander begged God to help him, as they [the 'Jews'] had sinned [10] against God. Then the two mountains moved together on account of Alexander's prayers, even though he was a heathen, and enclosed the Jews therein. There they are to stay until the time that is close to the Last Day. Then they will come out and commit much slaughter among the people [Christians].

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[31]. Published as *Das Zeitbuch des Eike von Repgow*, ed. H.F. Massmann (Stuttgart, 1857), 68-69; also in the *MGH Deutsche Chroniken* II, ed. Ludwig Weiland (1877).

20. Matthew of Paris (c. 1195-1259), *Angli historia maior*:[12] After describing the Mongol (Tatar) invasions of 1240-41 and the "Tartars" themselves, Matthew comments:

Creduntur isti Tartari, quorum memoria est detestabilis, fuisse de decem tribubus, qui abierunt, relicta lege Mosaica, post vitulos aureo; quos etiam Alexander Macedo primo conatus est includere in praeruptis montibus Caspiorum molaribus bituminatis. Quod opus cum videret humanos labores excedere, invocavit auxilium Dei Israel; et coierunt cacumina montium adinvicem, et factus est locus inaccessibilis et immeabilis. Super quem locum dicit Josephus, 'Quanta faciet Deus pro fideli, qui tantum fecit pro infideli?' Unde liquet, Deum[13] nolle ut exeant. Veruntamen, sicut scribitur in scholastica[14] historia, exibunt circa finem mundi, magnam stragem hominum facturi. Emergit autem dubietas,[15] si isti sint nunc exeuntes Tartari, cum non utantur lingua Hebraica, nec legem sciant Mosaicam, nec utantur vel regantur legalibus institutis. Ad quod respondetur quod nihilominus credibile est, quod isti sunt de inclusis de quibus mentio praelibatur.[16]

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[12]. The version known as the *Chronica maior* was published in the Rolls Series by Henry R. Luard (London, 1872-1883) in five volumes and is cited by Anderson *Alexander's Gate*, 70-71, from vol. IV, 77f. The *Historia* was published at London in 1571. I have given variant readings from the latter (Wolfenbüttel Gr 4° 11, 732, line 24ff).

[13]. 1571: Dominum.

[14]. 1571: Scholastica.

[15]. 1571: dubium.

[16]. Matthew is not so critical as to give up the popular thesis that the Tatars were the apocalyptic (Comestorine) Ten Tribes, despite clear evidence to the contrary. This evidence Matthew cites then dismisses as mere appearance: they may not look or sound like Jews, but the evil essence is the same. The 1571 edition continues as follows: "Sed sicut etiam adhuc in ducatu Mosaico corda eorum rebellia in reprobrum sensum sunt conversa, ita ut irent post Deos alienos et ritus ignotos, ita et nunc magis prodigaliter, ita ut ab omni alia natione ignoretur, cor eorum et lingua confunditur, et ita in ferinam

21. Rudolf von Ems, *Alexander*, between 1220 and 1260:[37]

13038 waz er [Alexander] mit den Juden ie
grôzer wunder begie,
13040 daz seit der wîse Josephus.
der heilige Metôdius,
Kristes martelaere,
der schreip von im diu maere
wie er Gog Mâgog beslôz,
13045 die vervluochten künne grôz..."

Translation:

13038 ...the great marvels he then performed
concerning the Jews are recounted by
13040 Josephus the Wise.
Saint Methodius,
a martyr of Christ,
writes about Alexander
that he enclosed the great and damnable clan
13045 (people) Gog Magog.

Verses 16,837-16,996:

16838 der zehen geslehte hêrschaft
wuohs manec jâr in Caspiâ:
16840 sie sâzen zinslîche dâ
den Persen sunder widerstrît
manec jâr unz an die zît
daz sie bevunden maere
daz der wunderaere
16845 Alexander der wîgant
haet überwunden diu lant
und vür diu rîche dar was komn.
ouch hâten sie von im vernomn
die êre - als ich iu hân geseit -
16850 die er mit grôzer werdekeit
in Jerûsalem den Juden tete.
sie santen zim und was ir bete
daz er sie lieze mit ir scharn
vrîlîche ze lande varn,
16855 daz man in niht taete.

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crudelitatem et insipientam Deo vindice commutatur." This second use of 'ignoro' shows that to Matthew, the unknown was greatly to be feared.

[37]. Ed. Victor Junk (Leipzig, 1929).

der edel degen staete
vrâgte dô der maere
durch waz schulde waere
diz grôze her gevangen dâ.
dô sagte man dem künge sâ
rehte wie ez was geschehn
und als ich iu hân verjehn
daz sie durch des tiuvels spot
verkurn gar den hoehsten Got
und sprâchen Baal ir gebet,
swaz in Got gnâden ie getet.

Der künec smierlîche sprach
daz doch niht durch guot geschach
"dêswâr, sîi sie den hoehsten Got
durch ir untriuwen gebot
hânt verlâzen und verkorn
und sît sie durch sînen zorn
sô lange sint gevangen hie,
sô wil ich baz besliezen sie.
[...]
Alsus sint sie behalten
und müezen iemer alten
mit der vancnisse dâ
in der vil wilden Caspiâ
unz an die jungesten zît
als uns diu schrift urkunde gît,
sô werdent sie her ûz gelân.
die welt muoz von in kumber hân
und schaden vil mit arbeit,
als uns der wîssage seit.
[...]
Mit endehafter wârheit
die vancnisse hât geseit
der gewaere Jôsephus.
dâ bî seit Metôdîus
der rehte und der gewaere
ouch ein ander maere,
der was ze Patres in der stat
zeinem rihtaere gesat
ein bischof nâch der kristenheit
der durch Krist die martel leit,
der beguonde suochen
obe er an den buochen
vunde keiniu maere
der vergezzen waere
und in latîne niht geschribn,
in kriesch und in êbrêisch belibn.
dô vant er nützziu maere

diu der vil gewaere
Jerônimus niht tet erkant
und sie ouch lîhte niender vant
und dâ von an im belibn
ungeseit und ungeschribn.
er trift vil kurzlîche
die scheidunge der rîche
und wie sie nâch den êrsten man
die scheidunge huoben an
und wie diu welt verenden sol,
daz hât sîn maere gendet wol.
swaz der von Alexander seit
ungelogener wârheit.

Translation:

The power and might of the ten tribes
grew for many years in Caspia:
they were docile tributaries
of the Persians
for many years, until the time
when they heard
that the marvel-maker,
Alexander the great warrior
had conquered many lands
and had arrived at [the gates of] their kingdom.
They had also heard of
the honors -- as I have told you --
that he conferred, with great dignity,
on the Jews at Jerusalem.
They sent to him, and their request was
that he allow them to travel with their entire array
and troops, unhindered, to their homeland,
and that they be accorded safe conduct.
The noble and steadfast warrior
wanted to know
for what sins
that great army was captive there.
They told the king the truth,
exactly how it happened,
just as I have told you:
that they were snared in the Devil's toils,
renounced Almighty God,
and prayed to Baal,
for whatever mercies God had ever shown them.

The king spoke with an ironic smile
entirely devoid of friendliness or good will:
"Truly, since they had lost
and renounced God Almighty
by their faithless actions,
and since they have been imprisoned here for so long
on account of his wrath,
I will enclose them even more effectively."
[Alexander undertakes to build a formidable wall,
but realizes that he needs divine help, for which
he humbly prays. God answers his prayer.]
Thus they are captive,
and must grow old
in that prison,
in the wilds of Caspia,
until the End Time
when they will be let out,

as Scripture tells us.
The world will suffer much from them,
and much damage and misery,
as the prophecy says.
[Rudolf mentions that he had read elsewhere -- probably in the letter of Prester John -- of the waterless sea of sand that encloses this land and this people, and of the high stone walls surrounding 'Caspia' -- a detail derived from the Younger Titurel.]
Josephus the reliable
described the prison
in complete and true detail.
And Methodius
the righteous and the truthful
tells another tale.
He was in the city of Patras,
appointed as a judge
and bishop according to the Christian tradition.
He later suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake.
He looked to see
whether he could find
in books any story
that had been forgotten,
and not written down in Latin,
but preserved in Greek or Hebrew.
There he found useful accounts
which the highly reliable
Jerome had not mentioned,
and perhaps had not found anywhere,
and since then had not been
talked about or written down until he [saw them].
He touches very briefly
on the separation of the kingdoms
[Christ's and Satan's]
and how the separation started
after the very first man [Adam],
and how the world will end,
which is the proper end to his account.
What he says of Alexander
is the truth without the shadow of a lie.

22. Rudolf von Ems, *Weltchronik*:[38]

An disin selbin bergin lit
und stozent dran vil nahe bi
die berge montes Kaspii:
das ist ein hoch gebirge groz:
mit dén und mit dem mer besloz
Alexander der riche
sit vil gewaltechliche
zwei geslehte, das was Gog,
das andir ist genant Magog,
dé gein der welte endis zil
der erde fúgent kumbirs vil
und wet°ndú herzeleit
mit vorhtliche erbeit,
so si werdent uz virlan
und in das tor wirt uf getan
da si mit Gotis kreftin groz
Alexander mit besloz
vil gewaltecliche.

Translation:

[1473] Close to these mountains
and touching them not far off
[1475] are the mountians called the montes Kaspii:
they are great, high mountains:
with them and with the sea
Alexander the merciful enclosed
with great force
[1480] two nations, one called Gog
and the other called Magog,
who, as the world reaches its end
will cause great suffering on earth
and painful, heart-felt sorrow
[1485] and frightful misery,
when they are let out
and the gates are opened for them,
with which Alexander enclosed them
with God's great power
[1480] and with his own might.

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[38]. *Rudolf von Ems Weltchronik. Aus der Wernigeroder Handschrift*, ed. Gustav Ehrismann (Berlin, 1915), 21. This passage seems to have been taken from Honorius' *De imagine mundi*, or perhaps from the middle High German *Lucidarius*.

23. Vincent of Beauvais (1190-1264), *Speculum Historiale* (c. 1250):[39]

Ex historia Scholastica. Cum venisset Alexander ad montes Caspios, miserunt filii captivitatis 10 tribuum, postulantes ab eo egrediendi licentiam; ex edicto enim tenebantur egredi non licere. Cumque quaesisset causam captivitatis, accepit eos aperte recessisse a Deo Israel, vitulis aureis immolando, et per prophetas esse praedictum eos, a captivitate non redituros. Tunc Alexander respondit, quod digni erant arctius includi. Cumque angusta viarum obstrueret molibus bituminatis, et videret laborem humanum ad hoc non sufficere, oravit Dominum Deum Israel, ut opus illud compleret; et liquido apparet non esse voluntatem Dei ut exeant: egredientur tamen circa finem mundi magnam hominum stragem facturi: hic addit Iosephus dicens, Deus quid facturus est pro fidelibus suis, si tantum fecit pro infideli?
Solinus. Portae Caspiae panduntur itinere manufacto longo 8 milibus passuum, nam latitudo vix plaustro est permeabilis. In his angustiis etiam illud asperum est quod praecisorum laterum saxa liquentibus inter se salis venis exsudent humorem affluentissimum, qui constrictus vi caloris velut in aestivam glaciem corporatur. et ita labes in via accessum negat: praeterea 8 et 20 milibus passuum tractus omnis quoquomodo inde pergatur, nullis puteis vel fontibus humo aride sive praesidio, sitit. Tunc serpentes undique gentium convenae, a verno statim die illuc confluunt, et ita periculi et difficultatis concordia, ad Caspios nisi hyeme accessus negatur.

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[39]. Cited from *Bibliotheca Mundi, seu Speculi Maioris Vincentii Burgundi Praesulis Bellovacensis, Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Theologia Doctoris Eximii, Tomus Quartus, qui Speculum Historiale inscribitur (Duaci, ex officina Balthazaris Belleri, 1624), book IV, ch. xliii. The first printing dates from 1473 (Strasbourg). This medieval encyclopedia was complied by Vincent under the patronage of the crusading king Louis IX (St. Louis; reigned 1226-1270).

24. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*:[40]

Quia vero de montibus Caspiis hic facta est mentio, hic unum quod in dubium mihi venerit inserere volo. Cum enim dicant historie nostre scholastice quod Alexander Magnus rex Macedonum oratione impetravit a domino reclusionem Iudeorum intus Montes Caspios, ipsosque circa finem mundi praedicent exituros, fratres nostri sancti ordinis praedicatorum in Georgia civitate Triphelis [Tiflis?] que prope montes Caspios est per vii annos commorati sunt diligenter a Georgianis et a Persis et etiam a Iudeis de inclusione illa inquesierunt et dicunt omnes etiam Iudei quod nihil penitus inde sciunt nec unquam istud in suis historiis invenerunt. Hoc autem scriptum habent tantummodo quod Alexander ille quosdam immundos et horribiles prope montes Caspios habitantes qui alios homines et etiam seinvicem comedebant intra montes illos habitare coegit et etiam ibi portas extrui fecit que videlicet adhuc porte Alexandri dicte sunt. Unamque illarum Tartari confregerunt, ceterum de reclusione hominum in montibus illis nihil aliud reperietur in locis illis.

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[40]. Cited by Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 71, from the Strasbourg edition, 1472-73, and the Venice edition, 1494; book 29 (30), chapter 89, 393bff. The line numbering is mine.

25. Ulrich von Eschenbach, *Alexander* (between 1271 and 1286):[41]

er [Alexander] wart des berihtet rehte,
daz sie waern der zehen geslehte,
under in ein künic der hiez Gog
was, der ander hiez Magog,
daz die irn schepher verkurn
und die rehte ê verlurn,
als in die gap der süeze got,
und beten an die apgot.
im wart mê unreinekeit
von den Juden geseit:
daz sie slangen unde kroten
aezen und under in die tôten.
Nu hoert wie der werde fuor.
ir blîben er aldâ swuor:
er wolde verlîmen in die cluns.
nû ist alsô gesaget uns
daz der edel fürste gehêret
sîn gebet gegen gote kêret.
er sprach 'ô du allerhoehster got,
dîn gewalt und din gebot
du aller dinge ein fundamint,
sol dise tiuvelische kint
kreftic hie besliezen.
lâ dich des niht verdriezen,
daz dîn ander volc daz werde
von in niht geerget werde.'
der süeze got durch sîn gebet
vor al dem volc ein wunder tet:
im tet an der selben stunt
von himel eine stimme kunt,
daz sîn betlîche wort
unser hêrre haete erhôrt;
daz volc solde sîn gevangen dâ.
dô begunden sich die berge sâ
vaste ze houfen drücken
und alsô zesamne smücken,
daz dar inne die unsüezen
ûf die zît blîben müezen,
biz daz die argen boesen
der Endecrist sol loesen,
bî dem sie ûf der erden
gar gewaldic werden.

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[41]. Ed. Wendelin Toischer (Tübingen, 1888; =*BLVS*, 115), 556ff.

Translation:

He [Alexander] received correct information,
that they were the ten tribes,
and among them one king was called Gog
and the other was called Magog;
they had renounced their Creator
and lost the true Law
which was given to them by our dear Lord;
and they worshipped idols.
More foul[42] things were told him
concerning the Jews:
that they ate snakes and frogs,
and those of their own numbers who died.
Now hear how the worthy Alexander reacted.
He swore they would stay there for ever:
he wanted to seal up the passage.
We are told
that the noble prince
addressed his prayers to God.
He said: 'O thou almighty God,
[by] thy power and [by] thy commandment,
O thou foundation of the world,
shouldst thou mightily enclose
this devilish people here.
Do not allow thyself to be angered:
do not allow your other peoples, the worthy ones,
to be plagued by these [wretches].'
Merciful God was moved by his prayer,
and worked a miracle for all to see:
right there and then
a heavenly voice announced to him
that his prayerful word
had been heard by our Lord;
this people was to be enclosed there.
Then the mountains began to move
toward one another
and press against each other
so that the foul folk
must stay inside until the time when they,
wicked and evil as they are,
will be freed by the Antichrist,
in whose company they will
become very mighty on earth.

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[42]. Concerning the middle High German word *unrein*, see chapter III.

26. Hugo a Novo Castro (fl. c. 1320), *Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristum*:[43]

fol. 7ᵛ
Cap. xi: de exitu decem tribuum de loco captivitatis

[4]. Tradit scholastica historia quod cum venisset allexander magnus ad mon-[5]tes caspios ultra quos salmanasar rex assiorum decem tribus captivas ductas posuerat de terra sua sicut quartus liber regum prolixius narrat, miserunt ipsi filii captivitatis .x. tribuum ad eum postulantes ab eo egrediendi licenciam. Cumque quesisset causam captivitatis eorum accepit eos aperte recessisse a deo patrum suorum vitulis aureis [10] immolando et per prophetas esse predictum eos a captivitate non redituros. Tunc allexander respondit quod ut digni erant eos arcius includeret. Cumque angusta viarum molibus obstrueret bituminatis et videt laborem hum[a]num ad hoc non posse sufficere rogavit dominum deum ysrahel ut opus illud compleret et accessuerunt ad se invicem prerupta moncium, ex quo li-[15]quide apparet non esse voluntatis dei ut exeant. Egredientur tamen circa finem mundi magnam hominum straqem facturi. Ubi et iosephus addit dicens: Deus quid facturus est pro fidelibus suis si t(antu)m fecit pro infidelibus hec ibi. Ecce aperte quod in fine mundi .x. tribus filiorum ysrahel incluse facture mag-[20]nam hominum occisionem de loco captivitatis exibunt. De isto exitu .x. tribuum videtur loqui beatus methodius martir ubi supra sic inquiens: Ita erit adventus eorum sicut gog et magog et ita cum fuerit pax reserabuntur porte caspie in latere aquilonis et gentes iste gog et magog venient et concucietur omnis terra pie timore eorum et expavescent omnes ho-[25]mines qui habitant super faciem universe terre et abscondent se in montibus et in speluncis a conspectu eorum. Subdit que illam gentem describendo, hii ex progenie sunt iaphet et exeuntes transibunt a facie aquilonis. Tales igitur carnes hominum commedent et serpentes et iumenta mulieres cum parvulis suis manducabunt et nullus est qui possit expugnare illos. Et post septem annos temporum illorum comprehendent civitatem iosi-[30]phem et tunc mittet dominus unum de principibus suis et percuciet eos cum fulgore et igne sub uno momento hec ille. Ex hiis autem verbis

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[43]. Nuremberg, 1471 (Wolfenbüttel Li 4° 193; Hain 8993); book I, chapters xi and xii.

methodii p[ar]t[im] primo illam finalem pacem [qualis primus???] non erit fore ante persecucionem fiendam per filios .x. tribuum gog et magog. hec expresse insinuat cum dicit. Cum itaque fuerit pax tunc reserabuntur porte caspie in lateribus aquilonis et gentes iste cum gog et magog ven-[35]nient. Advertendum eciam quod non dicit quod gentes iste exiture debeant esse gog et magog. Est autem dubium quia dicit illam gentem esse de progenie iaphet, sed de progenie sem mediante abraam ysaac et iacob ut plane patet in genesim. Sed responderi forte potest quod gentes ille inter quas translate sunt decem tribus ultra dictos montes caspios de stirpe iaphet fuerunt in quas quasi transierunt per [40] captivitatem dicti filii x tribuum et propter hoc racionabiliter credi potest quod eos dicit de progenie propter eos quibus per captivitatem conmixti et coniuncti [fol. 8r, 1] Dubium aliud videtur esse que sit ista civitas quam finaliter capient et post cuius capcionem per unum principem missum a domino percucientur fulgure et igne. Et quia illud concordat cum destructione capitis eorum scilicet anticristo [sic] quem regem sibi preficient (infra capitulo de destructione anticristi per hiesum [5] cristum fiendam) clare vel quo[modo?] ad litteram impleri debeat apparebit. Postremo valde dubium est que sint iste gentes gog et magog cum quibus venture x tribus ultimam persecucionem ecclesie adimplebunt. Et qui sancti de hoc valde varie loquuntur et diversas opiniones circa hoc recitant. Sequens capitulum ad hoc convenienter ordinari debet de hoc ut diverse opiniones in eo subscribantur. [10] Capitulum duodecimum de gog et magog. Beatus hieronimus xi capitulo super ezechielem in principio sic dicit. "Scias, o virgo [sic: virgine] eustochium orandum tibi esse per nobis in prophetia difficilima illud breviter admonebo quod vir nostre etatis haud ignobilis ad imperatorem scribens super hac nacione dixerit: 'gog ille gotus est' cui qua raci-[15]one possint omnia que in prophetia scripta sunt coaptari. non est meum sed eorum qui hoc putaverunt disserere."[44] Ecce prima opinio quod populus gog sit populus gottorum. Et in eodem libro incipiens exponere xxxviii capitulum eiusdem libri quod videtur esse totum ad litteram de hac gente super illo verbo: "fili hominis pone faciem tuam contra gog et terram magog

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[44]. The "vir nostrae aetatis haud ignobilis" cited by Jerome (*CChr* LXXV.480, 14-19; see text 5 above) is Ambrose (*PL* XVI.611-612).

principem capitis mosoch et tu-[20]bal" sic dicit: "Judei et nostri iudaizantes putant gog gentes esses scitiatas inmanes et innumerabiles qui trans caucasum montem et metyotidem paludem et prope caspium mare ad indiam usque protenduntur. has post mille annorum regnum esse a diabolo commovendas ut veniant ad terram ysrahel et pugnent contra sanctos multis secum gentibus congregatis. Primum mosach quos iosephus in-[25]terpretatur capadoces, Tubal quos idem hybros vel hyspanos vocat, hebrei ytalos suspiciantur habentes secum in exercitu perses ethiopes et libios, Gomer quoque et Jogorma quos galatas et frigias dicunt, Sabeos quoque et dedon kartaginensium sive tharsis, et hoc quoque est quod iohannes ponit in apocalipsim: [Rev. 20,7] 'Et cum finiti fuerint mille anni solvetur sathanas de cathena sua et egre-[30]dietur ut seducat gentes in quatuor angulis terre gog et magog et congreget eos ad bellum quorum numerus est sicut arena maris.'"[45] De hoc eciam loquitur glossa rabani [Hrabanus Maurus] super illud filii hominis etc. Gog sic est nomen regis hammam gog nomen gentis sicut dictum est Genesis x Gomor et magog. Item idem super illud quod sequitur. Nunquid tu es ille de quo annunciavi in diebus [35] antiquis in manu servorum meorum prophetarum ysrahel glossa eius, ut fuit ezechiel et zacharias. Nam ipse zacharias prophetavit de prelio gog et magog xiiii capitulo dicens: Et congregabo omnes gentes ad hierusalem ad prelium. magistri nostri dixerunt addad et midad ipsi prophetaverunt de prelio gog et meagog et hec est secunda opinio, ut autem dicit aug[ustinus] xx de civita-[40]te dei. "Quidam suspicati sunt gog et magog esse getas et massagetas propter litteras nominum primas." Ecce tercia opinio. Opinio autem utriusque doctoris [fol. 8v.1] scilicet augustini et hieronimi est quod gog et magog in ezechielem et in apocalipsim non debent capi pro determinata gente alicuius nacionis, sed pro universis perversis qui tempore antichristi capitis sui concitabuntur in prelium contra sanctos quando solvetur sathanas, ut patet per beatum augustinum xx de civita-[5]te dei ca[pitulo] .xi. et per hieronimum super ezechielem ubi supra.[46] Unde reprehendens illos de secunda opinione qui suam opinionem confirmant per illud apocalipsim. "Et cum fuerint finiti mille anni

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[45]. Cited from Jerome, 'Commentary on Ezekiel' (11,38) *CChr* LXXV. 525,1476 - 526,1492.

[46]. Cf. Hugh of St. Cher, cited above, no. 17.

etc." subdit non intelligentes totum volumen iohannis quod revelacionis titulo pernotatur esse misticum et revelacione nos indigere in eodem glossa autem super apocalipsim xx solvetur sathanas de cathena et seducet gen-[10]tes qui sunt super quatuor angulos terre gog et magog etc. sic dicit: "gog id est de tecto id est omnes persecutores dyabolum in se tegentes at tandem ad apertam perfectionem procedentes vel ad litteram has duas gentes prius seducet et per eas ad alias procedet." Hec glossa. Aliqui autem moderni non parve auctoritatis[47] illam gentem pocius volunt et credunt esse tartaros et credunt eas [15] esse x tribus illas quondam inclusas, que iam exiverunt, cum illius gentis ignoretur origo, coniecturant quam probare quod per eos ecclesia ultimam persecucionem sit passura. Illud tamen authenticum fundamentum non habet cum magis appareat oppositum eo quod populus iste tartarorum signa legis filiorum ysrahel[48] non habeat a quibus tamen non videtur probabile filios x tribuum penitus [20] recessisse. Qualiter cumque igitur accipiatur gog et magog sive pro determinatis nacionibus ut volunt tres opiniones que tamen certitudinem non habent sive per omnium nacionum perversis qui tempore antichristi et tempore solucionis sathane de suo carcere et habitaculis ad antichristum congregabuntur in prelium contra sanctos cum gog et magog venient et exibunt filii captivitatis de-[25]cem tribuum, quia cum perversis illi copulati cristi ecclesiam ultima persecucione affligent ut qualitercumque gog et magog accipiatur, vel ad litteram vel per allegoriam, tamen dictum propheticum beati methodii in nullo aliqua columnia[49] conquassatur.

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[47]. Matthew of Paris, for instance.

[48]. I.e., circumcision.

[49]. Probably 'calumnia'.

27. Seifrit's *Alexander* (c. 1352):[50]

do er [Alexander] uber das pirg cham,
er vant ain diet fraissam,
die was unrain und scheuczlich
und an schiessen fraislich.
zawbern und nygramenczey
und allew pasheit wont in pey.
sy warn pos und gar verczait
an tugenden und an beschaidenhait.
sy assen hunt und alles viech,
es wer gesunt oder siech,
ez wer roch oder gesoten;
sy assen natern und chrotten.
in was nichts wider zem,
es was in alles guett und genem.
wenn die leut sterben
oder wie sy sunst verderben
von welicher lay geschicht,
der begrabens ainen nicht:
sy fressen sy gar und gar
(das ich sag, das ist war)
Gok und Magokch sind sy genant,
geporn von der Juden landt.
der chunig Salmanasar
von Nyniphe furt sy dar
gevangen vor virhundert jarn,[51]
wann sy Got ungerecht warn.
also sindt sy in der poshait
beliben und so gar verczait.
Got hat in selber verflu'cht,
das er ir nymermer geruecht
hie und dort geleich
in himel und in erttreich.
Essechiel und Jeremias
habent von in geweissagt das.
wer die wibel hat gelesen,
dem mag es wol chund wesen
war umb es Got hat getan
oder wie sy es verwaricht han.
do der chaiser das erkannt

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[50]. *Seifrits Alexander aus der Straßburger Handschrift*, ed. Paul Gereke (Berlin, 1932), 70-71.

[51]. Four hundred years before the time of Alexander. Seifrit cannot mean in the tenth century of our era.

und ir pashait recht ervant,
er voricht und gedacht im zehant,
ob sy chemen in die lant,
das sy die welt unraintten
und die leut vermainten.
Allexander in gepot
das sy sich sambten alle dratt
mit weiben und mit chinden.
des wolt er nicht erwinden,
er furt sy furbert an ain stat.
den hogsten Got er tewr pat
das er im hulf besliessen
und liess in des geniessen
das er sein inniklich pet,
und es der welt zu nucze tet.
Got ist so mild und so guet,
wes man in pit mit rechtem muett
und wes man in andacht an in gert,
das er des gar dikch gewert.
also tet er alhie,
ein wunder er geschehen lie.
zwain hoch pergen er gepot
das sy zesamen gienngen dratt.
das er gepot, das geschach.
die perig man an ain ander sach
gen und wachsen alczuhant
und verslyssen leut und lannt.
das gepirg chain endt nyndert hat,
sein hoch durich die gewolkchen gat.
Allexander pawt da vor
czway grassew eyssneinew tar.
er bestrachs mit assyntiton,
da wurdens starkch und vest von,
das sy mit fewr nyemant
noch mit eyssen gewynnen chan.
assyntiton das hat die chraft
und ist also werhaft
das aller stachel und eyssen
mues vor im prechen ind reyssen,
es lescht alles fewr gar.
was ich euch sag, das ist war:
sy sund verslossen also ser,
sy mugen heraus nymmer mer;
niemant auch zu in mag
von hinn unczt an den jungisten tag.
yedoch hab wir fur bar vernomen
das sy schullen her aus kumen
noch vor des jungisten tages frist
und schullen mit dem Anterchrist

erchriegen die christenhait.
wer das gelebt, dem sey das laid!

Translation:

[4206] When he came over the mountains,
he found a terrifyingly wild people
that was foul, unnatural[52] and disgusting,
and frighteningly good with the bow.
[4210] They are constantly engaged in magic and necromancy
and all forms of wickedness.
They were evil and entirely lacking
in virtue and modesty.
They ate dogs and all manner of animals,
[4215] not caring whether they were healthy or sick,
raw or cooked;
they ate vipers and frogs.
Nothing was disgusting to them,
they found everything good and pleasant.
[4220] When these people die,
or otherwise come to harm,
no matter how,
they are not buried:
they eat them up entirely
[4225] (what I say is true).
Gog and Magog they are called,
they are of Jewish patrimony.
King Salmanasar
drove them there as captives,
[4230] four hundred years before,
because they had been untrue to God.
And they remained in their wickedness,
and even got worse.
God himself has cursed them,
[4235] so that he will never again call them,
here as there,
neither on earth nor in heaven.
Ezekiel and Jeremiah
prophesied that he would do this.
[4240] Anyone who has read the Bible
will have learned
why God did this,
or rather, why they deserved it.
When the Emperor [Alexander] discovered this
[4245] and recognized their wickedness,
he was afraid and pondered what would happen
if they were to break out into other lands:
they would make the whole world unclean

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[52]. The word used in middle High German is *unrain*; see chapter III.

and their evil deeds would stain and curse everyone.
[4250] Alexander ordered them
to assemble quickly
with their women and children.
He could not be moved to change his mind,
and he led them even farther off to another place.
[4255] He begged God Almighty sincerely
to help him enclose them,
and God was pleased to accede to Alexander's wish,
because he to him [God] prayed so earnestly,
and because he did it for the good of the world.
[4260] God is so generous and so good,
that whatever one asks from him piously,
and in the right spirit,
he very often grants,
and that is what he did in this case.
[4265] He allowed a miracle to occur:
he ordered that two high mountains
move together on the spot.
What he ordered, happened.
The mountains were seen to move together
[4270] and to grow into each other,
enclosing both land and people.
The mountains have no end anywhere
and go right up through the clouds.
In front of them, Alexander built
[4275] two great iron gates.
These he coated them with assyntiton,
so that they became strong and fast,
so hardened that they cannot be breached
by fire or by iron.
[4280] Assyntiton has the power,
and is so strong,
that all steel and iron
must break and tear when they meet it;
it even extinguishes all fire.
[4285] What I tell you is true:
they are so well enclosed
that they can never escape,
nor can anyone reach them,
from then until the Judgement Day.
[4290] However, we have been truly told
that they shall break out
just before the Last Day
and make war on Christendom
together with the Antichrist.
[4295] Whosoever lives through that will wish he had not!

[Alexander next comes to the 'Portas Cassias', very high

mountains that surround India, and are closed with 'iron gates' -- a vestigial version of the preceding story!]

28. The middle High German *Historienbibel* (14th/15th centuries):[53]

Daniel wissaget und spricht. Der endchrist kompt von tribu in Babilonia und wirt geboren von dem bösten man und wib und wenn er empfangen wirt so fert der böß geist mit im in und wirt mit im geboren und erzogen und haist ain sun des to^{v}des und gelo^{v}bt alle welt an im und wirt grosse kunst han und würkt falsche zaiche und findt all verborgen schätz. Und haisset sich got und beschnidt sich und haist sich Messias und buwt Salomons tempel wider und setzt sinen kúngstúl darin und lo^{v}ffend all juden gegen im. Und verkert die mentschen mit grosser schrecken und zucht sy mit grossem geld an sich und mit sylber und mit ga^{v}b und mit andren zaichin und tött alle cristanliche mentsch und tött o^{v}ch Helyas und Enoch die werdent all an dem dritten tag wider lebendig. Und sendt sin zwölff botten und zwen und sybentzig junger in alle land zú bredigen und brediget vierthalb ja^{v}r und haist sich mitten in dem tempel für got anbetten und zúcht die Juden an sich und spricht, er sye Messias und tritt in die fúßtritt Cristi und spricht er wölle gen himel faren uff dem ölberg.

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[53]. *Die deutschen Historienbibeln des Mittelalters nach vierzig Handschriften*, ed. J.F.L. Theodor Merzdorf (Tübingen, 1870; = *BLVS* 100 and 101; repr. 1963): family I "Dô got in siner magenkraft", 101,487-488. In vol. I, 22, Merzdorf lists 16 manuscripts of this family from the fifteenth century, and another five related manuscripts from the same century. Christoph Gerhardt has provided an excellent guide through the massive literature and numerous partial editions and excerpts from the historiated Bibles. Merzdorf's edition is called 'unreliable', based on the judgement of leading experts, and the variant apparatus 'useless', but Merzdorf provides the only complete published text available: "Historienbiblen (deutsche)", in: *Verfasserlexikon* (new series), IV, Lfg. 1, 67-74.

Translation:

[1] Daniel prophecies and says: The Antichrist will come from the tribe [of Dan] in Babylon and will be born of the most evil man and woman and when he is conceived, the evil spirit [Satan] will enter [the womb] with him and [5] will be born with him and raised up and called a son of death and all the world shall believe in him and he will be very crafty, working false marvels and finding all buried treasures. And he will call himself God and circumsize himself and call himself Messiah and rebuild Solomons Temple and place his throne therein and all the [10] Jews will come running to him. And he will pervert humanity with great terrors and draw them to himself with much money and silver and valuable gifts and with other signs, He will kill all Christians and kill Elijah and Enoch and they will come back to life on the third day. [15] He will send twelve messengers and seventy-two disciples out into all lands to preach and he will preach four and a half years and command, in the middle of the Temple, that he be worshipped as God, and he will draw the Jews to himself and say, he is the Messiah, and follow in Christ's footsteps [imitate him] and say that he wants [20] to ascend to heaven from the Mount of Olives.

29. Middle High German *Historienbibel*:[54]

Das dy zehen geslecht peslossen wurden und das der chunig Alexander starb.

Do der chunig Alexander chom zu dem gepirg Caspios, do sandten dy geslecht dy da gefangen waren und peslossen und patten in, das er in urlaub gund heraus zechomen und sy ledigt. Do der Alexander fragt dy sach irer vankchnus, do wart in geantburt und sy hetten sich offenlich gesetzt und gechert von dem lebentig got und hetten in guldene chelbel gemacht und das sy von der vankchnus chämen und hetten dy angepetten. Do wart in gesagt von gottes weissagen, das sy von der vänkchnüs nicht wider chämen. Do hieß er sy mer versließen und daz den leuten unmegleich was, das man dy weg mer verspert dann sy vor worden. Do rufft er got von Israhel an, das er das werch volprecht und do ließen sich dy perg czu ainander, das man furpas czu in nicht chomen mocht. Dapey merkcht man offenleich, das es gottes wil nicht was, das sy auch chämen. Doch an der leczten zeit der welt werden sy herfür chomen und werden ain gros volkch verderben.

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[54]. *Ibid.*, *BLVS*, 100, family IIb: "O herr Jesu Christ", 71. Merzdorf lists 3 manuscripts from the 15th century (100,23). This passage draws on Rudolf von Ems' *Weltchronik*, and ultimately on Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.

Translation:

How the Ten Tribes were enclosed and how king Alexander died.

When king Alexander had come to the Caspian mountains, the tribes enclosed therein sent to him and begged him that he free them and allow them to come out. When Alexander asked after the reason for their imprisonment, they answered they had openly turned away from the living God and made themselves golden calves, and that they came from prison [sic] and worshipped them.[55] Then God spoke to him through prophecy, saying they should not be allowed out of their confinement. Then Alexander ordered them to be shut up more securely, and [it happened] that his people were unable to block the path any better than it had been blocked before. Then Alexander appealed to the God of Israel to finish the job, and the mountains approached each other, such that no-one could reach them [the Ten Tribes] ever again. This shows clearly, that it was not God's will for them to come out. However, in the last age of the world, they will break out and slaughter many people.

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[55]. I.e., they were imprisoned for worshipping the golden calves.

30. The middle English translation of *Mandeville's Travels* (fourteenth century), in chapter 29, "Of the contrees and yles beyonde Cathay":[56]

[6] In that same regioun ben the mountaynes of Caspye that men clepen Vber in the contree. Betwene tho mountaynes the Iewes of x. lynages ben enclosed, that men clepen Goth and Magoth, and thei mowe not gon out on no syde. There weren [10] enclosed xxii. kynges with hire peple that dwelleden betwene the mountaynes of Sychye, there kyng Alisandre chacede hem betwene tho mountaynes, and there he thoughte for to enclose hem thorgh werk of his men. But whan he saugh that he myghte not don it ne brying it to an ende, he preyed to God of [15] Nature that He wolde parforme that that he had begonne. And alle were it so that he was a payneme and not worthi to ben herd, yit God of His grace closed the mountaynes togydre, so that thei dwellen there alle fast ylokked and enclosed with high mountaynes alle aboute, saf only on o syde, [20] and on that side is the see of Caspye. Now may sum men asken, Sith that the see is on that o syde, wherfore go thei not out on the see syde for to go where that hem lyketh? But to this questioun I schal answere; that see of Caspye goth out be londe vnder the mountaynes and renneth be [25] the desert at o syde of the contree, and after it streccheth unto the endes of Persie. And alle though it be clept a see, it is no see ne it toucheth to non other see, but it is a lake, the grettest of the world. And though thei wolden putten hem into that see, thei ne wysten neuer where that thei scholde arryuen. And also [30] thei conen no language but only hire owne, that no man knoweth but thei. And therfore mowe thei not gon

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[56]. *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M.C. Seymour (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1967), 192-193. This version, known as the Cotton Version, is a conflation made about 1400. It is based on two lost manuscripts of fourteenth-century Middle English translations of the French original, c. 1357 -- itself a congeries of citations from Vincent of Beauvais, Odoric of Pordenone (for both of which, see Appendix I), William of Boldensele's account of the Holy Land (1336), Haiton's *Fleurs des Histoires d'Orient* (before 1308), and other sources. (Seymour, xiv-xv and xx). The enormous popularity of 'Mandeville', and the great credence given it -- Columbus had a copy, along with Marco Polo's description of the East, on his sea voyage westward in 1492 -- is attested to by the more than 250 surviving manuscripts in all the western European languages, and by its numerous printed editions.

out. And also yee schulle vnderstonde that the Iewes han no propre lond of hire owne for to dwellen inne in alle the world, but only that lond betwene the mountaynes. And yit thei yelden tribute for that lond to the queen of Amazoine, the whiche [193, 1] that maketh hem to ben kept cloos fulle diligently that thei schulle not gon out on no syde but be the cost of hire lond. For hire lond marcheth to tho mountaynes. [The Jews rarely leave, as the passes are narrow and there are deserts beyond, full "of dragouns, of serpentes, and of other venymous bestes"; 16...] And thogh it happenesum of hem be fortunate to gon out, thei conen no maner oflanguage but Ebrew, so that thei can not speke to the peple. And yit natheless men seyn thei schulle gon out in the tyme of [20] Antechrist, and that thei schulle maken gret slaughter of Christene men. And therfore alle the Iewes that dwellen in alle londes lernen alleweys to speken Ebrew in hope that whan the other Iewes schulle gon out, that thei may vnderstonden hire speche and to leden hem into Christendom for to destroye the Christene [25] peple. For the Iewes seyn that thei knowen wel be hire prophecyes that thei of Caspye schulle gon out and spreden thorghout alle the world, and that the Christene men schulle ben vnder hire subieccoun als longe as thei han ben in subieccoun of hem.

31. Justus Jonas, preface to *Libellus Martini Lutheri, Christum Iesum, verum Iudaeorum et semen esse Abrahae* (1524):[57]

Ionas Andreae Remo civi Augustensi.
Gratiam et pacem Dei. En tibi, humanissime Reme, libellum Lutheri, a nobis latinitate donatum. Multa opuscula hactenus passim spargi vidimus, in hoc comparata, ut Iudaeos de adventu Messiae convincerent, sed nihil (sive spiritum sive argumenta respicias) simile adhuc prodiit. Argumentis instructus est libellus hic eiuscemodi, ut non habituri sint quicquam solidi, quod respondeant. Non displicuit Luthero vestrum hoc consilium, quod petieretis hoc opusculum in eam transfundi linguam, cuius usus in omnibus gentibus latissime patet. Spes enim est, ut multo pluribus in latino quam Germanico prosit. Videmus plane contigisse Iudaeis, ut haud aliter a verbo dei et simplicitate scripturae avocati sint Thalmudicis nugis, ac nos Scotisticis et Thomisticis somniis. Non dubito autem quin ii, quibus est datum manere in synceritate scripturarum Mosi et prophetarum, his argumentis movebuntur non parum. Fingunt Rabini (unicum enim eis studium est, eiuscemodi vana spe lactare vulgus) in Babylone durare sceptrum et Rempublicam Iudaeorum, quasi vero mendacii ibi non palam convinci possint. Quin in lunares urbes regnum Iudaeorum translatum comminiscuntur? Sed orandum est nobis pro hac gente, praesertim cum inter nos quoque non omnes Christiani sunt, qui titulum Christianismi gerunt. Utinam vero hoc negotium cum Iudaeis tam procedat feliciter, quam alias per tam celerem cursum verbi intra iam breve tempus miram mutationem et magnifica opera dei videmus. Vale in Domino.

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57. *WA* 11.309,41-44 and 310,1-15.

APPENDIX C: ANTICHRIST AND THE JEWS AT THE END OF TIME

1. Tiburtine Sibyl (fourth century):[1]

In diebus iilis salvabitur Iuda et Israhel habitabit confidenter. In illo tempore surget princeps iniquitatis de tribu Dan, qui vocabitur Antichristus. Hic erit filius perditionis et caput superbie, et magister erroris, plenitudo malicie, qui subvertet orbem et faciet prodigia et signa magna per falsas simulationes. Deludet autem per artem magicam multos, ita ut ignem de celo descendere videatur. Et minuentur anni sicut menses et menses sicut septimana et septimana sicut dies, et dies sicut hore, et [h]ora velut puncti. Et ex[s]urgent ab aquilone spurcissime gentes, quas Alexander magnus inclusit, Gog videlicet et Magog. Hec sunt XXII regna, quorum numerus [est] sicut arena maris. Cum autem audierit re Romanorum, convocato exercitu debellabit eos atque prosternet usque ad internicionem et postea veniet Ierusalem, et ibi deposito capitis diademate et omni habitu regali relinquet regnum christianorum Deo patri et Iesu Christo filio eius. Et cum cessaverit imperium Romanum, tunc revelabitur manifeste Antichristus et sedebit in domo Domini in Ierusalem. Regnante autem eo, egredientur duo clarissimi viri Helias et Enoch ad annuntiandum Domini adventum et Antichristus occidet eos, et post dies tres a Domino resuscitabuntur. Tunc erit persecutio magna, qualis non fuit antea nec postea subsequetur. Adbreviabit autem dominus dies illos propter electos et occidetur virtute Domini Antichristus a Mikaele arcangelo in monte Oliveti.

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1. Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), 185-186.

2. Pseudo-Methodius (seventh century):[1]

Hic [in Africa] condedit [Alexander] Alexandriam magnam et regnavit in ea annis XVIIII. Iste descendens in Eoam occidit Darium Medorum et dominatus est multarum regionum et civitatum, et demulatvit terram, et discendit uaque ad mare qui vocatur regio solis, ubi conspexit gentes immundas et aspectu [h]orribilis. Sunt autem ex filiis Iapheth nepotes, quorum immundiciam videns ex[h]orruit. Comdebant enim hi omnes cantharo speciem omnem coinquinabilem vel spurcebilem, id es canes, mures, serpentes, morticinorum carnes, aborticia informabilia corpora, et ea que in alvo necdum per leniamenta [lineamenta] coaculata sunt vel ex aliqua parte membrorum producto conpago formam figmenti possit perficere vultum vel figuram expremere et haec iumentorum necnon etiam et omne speciem ferarum inmundarum. Mortuos autem nequaquam sepeliunt, sed sepe comedent eos. Haec vero universa contemplatus Alexander ab eis inmunditer et sceleriter fieri timens, ne quando eant exilientes in terra sancta et illa contaminent a pollutis suis iniquissimis affectationibus, depraecatus est Deum inpensius. et praecipiens congregavit eos omnes mulieresque eorum et filius et omnia scilicet castra illorum et eduxit eos de terra orientali et conclusit minans eos, donec introissent in finibus aquilonis. Et non est introitus nec exitus ab orientem in occidentem, quis per quod possit ad eos transire vel introire. Continuo ergo supplicatus est Deum Alexander, et exaudivit eius obsecrationem. Et praecipit dominus Deus duobus montibus, quibus est vocabulum 'ubera aquilonis', et adiuncti proximaverunt invicem usque ad duodecim cubitorum. Et construxit portas aereas et superinduxit eas asincitum, ut si voluerint eas patefacere in ferro, non possent, aut dissolvere per ignem, nec valeant utrumque, sed statim ignis omnis extinguitur. Talis enim est natura asinciti, quia neque ferro confringitur ictus neque igne suscipit resolutionem. Universas enim adinventiones daemonum et caliditates mortiferas vel supervacuas operantur haec obscinissime et deforme vel sordidae gentes, cuncta que magicae artis malorum abutuntur immunditer etiam hiis. Illorum sordidam et inhumanam, magis autem, ut conpetenter dicitur, Deo odibilem distructa est maleficia,ita ut non possent neque ferro neque per igne vel quodcumquelibet aliud astuciam easdem reserare vel aperire portas et fugire. In novissimis vero temporibus secundum Ezechielis prophetiam,

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[1]. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, 72-75.

que dicit: *In novissimo die consummationes mundi exiet Gog et Magog in terra Israhel.* Qui sunt gentes et reges, quos retrusit Alexander in finibus aquilonis? Gog et Magog et Anog et Aneg et Achennaz et Dephar et Potinei et Libii et Eunii et Pharizei et Declemi et Zarmatae et Theblei et Zamartiani et Chachonii et Amazarthe et Agrimardii et Anuphagii qui dicuntur Cynocephali et Tharbei et Alanes et Phisolonicii et Arcnei et Asalturii. Hi viginti duo reges consistunt reclusi intrinsecus portarum, quas confixit Alexander.

3. Adso (910-992), *Libellus de Antichristo ad Gerbergam Reginam* (c. 950):[3]

His Birth:[4]

Sicut ergo auctores nostri dicunt, Antichristus ex populo Judaeorum nascetur de tribu Dan, secundum prophetiam dicentem: "Fiat Dan coluber in via, et cerastes in semita, mordens ungulam equi, ut cadat ascensor eius retro" (Gen. 49,17). Sicut enim serpens sedebit in via et in semita erit, ut eos qui per semitam justitiae ambulaverint, feriat, et veneno suae malitiae occidat. Nascetur autem ex patris et matris copulatione, sicut alii himines, non ut quidam fabulantur de sola virgine."

In Jerusalem:[5]

Deinde Hierosolymam veniens, omnes Christianos quos ad se non poterit convertere, per varia tormenta jugulabit, et suam sedem in templo sancto parabit. Templum etiam destructum, quod Salomon Deo paravit, aedificabit, et in statum suum restaurabit, et circumcidet se, et Filium Dei omnipotentis se esse mentitur. Reges autem et principes primum[6] ad se converte[n]t, et deinde per illos caeteros populos.

Again in Jerusalem:[7]

Nam sicut supra diximus, in civitate Babyloniae natus, Hierusalem veniens circumcidet se dicens Judaeis: Ego sum Christus vobis repromissus, qui ad salutem vestram veni, ut vos, qui dispersi estis, congegrem et defendam. Tunc ad eum concurrent omnes Judaei, et existimantes se recipere Christum, recipient diabolum, secundum quod Dominus in Evangelio ait Judaeis: "Ego veni in nomine Patris mei, et non recepistis me; si altus venerit in nomine suo, hunc recipietis" (John 5,43).

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3. *PL* CI (in second volume of Alcuin's works).

4. *PL* CI.1292b.

5. *PL* CI.1293c.

6. Kings and princes convert to him first: not the Jews!

7. A recapitulation; *PL*.1295d - 1296a.

After the desolation wreaked by Gog and Magog, but before the advent of Enoch and Elijah:[1]

1 Judaei etiam tunc convertentur ad Dominum. "In diebus illis salvabitur Juda, et Israel habitabit confidenter." (Jer. 23,16)

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1. *PL* CI.1296b-1296c.

4. Hugo Ripelin de Argentina, O.P. (1210-1270), *Compendium theologicae veritatis*:[9]

Liber Septimus
De adventu antichristi, Cap. vi.

[*recto*, 34] Antequam veniet dominus ad iudicium regni romani fiet defe-[35]ctio. Nam sicut dicit glossa super apocalipsim: Prius erit discessio ab utroque imperio, qua impleta aderit antichristus. Hic ex parentem seminibus concipietur. Sed post conceptum descendet spiritus malignus in uterum matris cuius virtute et operatione deinceps puer nascetur et aletur ac adolescet propter filius predicationis [sic] [*verso*, 1] dicitur. Nascetur autem in babilonia de tribu dan, sicut dicit glossa super apocalipsim.[10] Post hoc veniet in hierusalem et circumcidet se dicens iudeis se esse christum illis promissum. Unde plebs iudaica specialiter adherebit illi, sicut dicit Haymo super Apocalipsim.[11] Donec Helia [5]

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[9]. Formerly, the *Compendium* was attributed to Albertus Magnus. Ulm: Johannes Zainer, 1481 (Hain 437); University of Arizona Special Collections BX 1749 H8. The passages reproduced here are from book 7. See Appendix B, no. 18, for the passage concerning Gog and Magog/the Ten Tribes.

[10]. The *Glossa ordinaria* reprinted in the *PL* (CXIV) does not mention the idea that the Beast (=Antichrist) would be born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, an idea that seems to have originated in the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl. Rather, under Rev. 13,1 the *Glossa* notes in a spiritualizing tone that betrays its distance from the concrete, personalizing thought common to much apocalyptic: "'Et vidi,' etc. Bestia spiritualiter est Antichristus, vel generaliter tota collectio malorum." (733b).

[11]. Haymo of Auxerre (see ch. V, note 21) does not say this precisely, but, concerning the catalogue of Jacob's sons (from Genesis 46 and 49) in Rev. 7: "Hoc etiam non est praetereundum cur Dan de hoc catalogo fuerit ejectus, cum in caeteris libris sicut et caeteri fratres inveniatur. Manasses enim qui non fuit filius Jacob, sed qui alienigena matre natus est, id est, de Aseneth filia Putipharis sacerdotis Heliopoleos [sic], locum eius teneat. Ad quod dicendum, quod de Dan nasciturus est Antichristus, juxta illud Jacob, 'Fiat Dan coluber in via,' etc., usque 'cadat ascensor eius retro' (Gen. 49). Ejicitur itaque ex hoc loco Dan, ut ostendatur Antichristus ex numero sanctorum ejiciendus. Aliter: Dan

et Enoch predicantibus qui ex illis salvandi fuerint ad christum revertantur. Angelus bonus primo deputabitur ad custodiam antichristo, sed quando ita obstinabitur in peccato quod dicet se esse deum, et extollit se supra omne quod dicitur deus aut colitur,[12] sicut dicit apostolus. Tunc primo deseret eum angelus ex toto [10] nec habebit eum postea ad promotionem, sed ad accusationem.

De mala vita antichristi, Cap. vii

Antichristus erit luxuriosus et in concupiscenciis feminarum et dicit Daniel 11[,17]. In aperto tamen per ypocrisim simulabit sanctitatem ut facilius decipere possit. Cor autem suum per superbiam magnificabit. Et sicut Daniel 8[,25]: Contra [15] principem principum consurget, id est, contra deum, ut dicit glossa super Danielem 7. In tantam elevabitur superbiam, ut leges et

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interpretatur iudicium transiens Hebraeorum; qui scilicet, postquam veritas apparuit, omnia illorum sacrificia et victimae transierunt..." *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, in: *PL*, CXVII.1037d - 1038a. Concerning the advent of the Beast (later interpreted as the Antichrist) in Rev. 13, Haymo writes: "'Et vidi de mari.' Hoc est de multitudine reproborum, vel de profunda perfidia Judaeorum. 'Bestiam ascendentem.' Id est Antichristus. [...] Hic itaque, sicut dixi, bestia quae ascendit de mari, diabolum significat, qui ascendit de cordibus reproborum, ut amplius saeviat, solutus per ipsum perditum hominem, qui nascetur de plebe Judaica, juxta illud: 'Fiat Dan coluber in via,' ey usque 'Ut cadat ascensor eius retro' (Gen. 49)." (*PL* CXVII.1092d) Haymo repeats and amplifies his earlier point that the Antichrist will come from the Jewish people, but has added the idea that the Jews will be especially attracted (more than other peoples) to the Antichrist -- an idea not clearly visible in Revelation.

[12]. Adso's *Libellus* explains this passage (from II. Thess. 2,3) as follows: "*Et extollitur*, id est erigitur in superbiam, *supra omne quod dicitur Deus*, id est, supra omnes sanctos, qui secundum Psalmistam dii dicuntur: *Ego dixi, dii estis* (Ps. 82,6). Vel supra omnes deos gentium, Herculem videlicet, Apollinem, Jovem, Mercurium, quos pagani deos esse existimant. Super omnes istos deos extolletur Antichristus, qui majorem et fortiorem se omnibus faciet: en non solum super hos, sed etiam *supra omne quod colitur*, id est, supra sanctam Trinitatem, quae sola colenda et adoranda est, ut Creator ab omni creatura sua." *PL* CI.1295c.

ceremonias mutare conetur, vel etiam cursus temporum.[13] Tante quoque presumptionis erit quod non putabit se a deo puniendum propter hoc quod iudicium differtur, Psalmus: Auferuntur iudicia tua a facie eius. Erit etiam [20] blasphemus, sicut dicitur in Apoc. 13[,5] unde Daniel 8: Sermonem contra excelsum loquetur.[14] Ad maiorem autem dei contumeliam faciet ymaginem suam adorari, et omnes suo caractere signari in manu dextra, et in frontibus suis sicut habet Apocalipsim 13[,17]. Confitebitur enim se filium dei verum, et filium hominis, ita ut in templo [25] dei sedeat tanquam ipse sit deus, et se faciet adorari. Judei namque templum quod romani destruxerant reedificabunt. Affirmabit etiam nullum ante se fuisse christianum. Sed omnes antichristos fuisse. Dicit in glossa ad Theb. 2 Quod sicut in christo omnis plenitudo divinitatis habitavit, ita in antichristo omnis plenitudo iniquitatis, [30] qui in ipso erit caput omnium malorum, scilicet dyabolus.

De sequacibus antichristi, Cap. ix.

[19]...Nota igitur quod antichristus primo veniet in benigni-[20]tate et miraculorum operatione, et tunc a iudeis suscipiatur qui ei specialiter adherebunt. Ad quorum conversionem venit enoch et helyas. Et tunc antichristus in apertam persecutionem consurget.

For comparison, these passages are from the undated Ulm printing (before 1473):[15]

fol. 119r (ch. 6)

[26] Nascetur autem in babilone de tribu Dan, sicut dicit Glo[ssa] super Apoc[alypsim]. Post hoc veniet in hierusalem, et circumcidet se dicens iudeis se esse

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[13]. Daniel 7,24-25.

[14]. Actually Daniel 7,24-25. The Vulgate reads "et alius consurget post eos et ipse potentior erit prioribus et tres reges humiliabit et sermones contra Excelsum loquetur et sanctos Altissimi conteret et putabit quod possit mutare tempora et leges."

[15]. The volume in which this work is bound, Wolfenbüttel Li 4° 2, dates from 1473 (Hain 435).

christum illis promissum. Unde plebs iudaica specialiter adh[a]erebit illi sic dicit Haymo super [30] Apoc[alypsim].

fol. 120^{r} (ch. 9)

[6] Nota igitur quod antichristus Primo veniet in benignitate et miraculorum operatione, et tunc a iudeis suscipietur qui ei specialiter adh[a]erebunt: ad quorum conversionem veniet helyas et enoch, et tunc antichristus in apertam per-[10]secutionem consurget.

fol. 120^{v} (ch. 13)

[26] Iudei vero tunc[6] convertentur ad fidem et sancta ecclesia usque in finem mundi pacifica conquiescet, quia ex tunc fraudulentia et s[a]evicia diaboli penitus deficiet.

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[6]. That is, after the death of the Antichrist.

5. Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl (+1433), 'Tractatus octo' on the 3rd Commandment:[17]

[576]
1 [180] ... Von dem red Augustinus contra faustum und spricht: "So du fragst, warumb das kristenlich volk nicht behalt czu veyren den sambcztag? Antwurt ich dir, das ist darumb, wann das dy figür wol vor bedawt, dasselb hat nü
5 Christus erfült."[18] Czu dem andern mal ist es darumb verwandelt [185] worden das niemants mer wänte, das wir noch schuldig wären czu feyeren den sambcztag von gepots wegen der alten ee. Derselb mensch sundet swarlich, wenn er judischt.
[577]
1 [199]... Aber dy selben sprich ich sind des Anterkrist [200] prediger.[19] So derselb kumpt, der wirt gepieten zu feyeren den sambcztag und nicht den süntag, wann er wirt furgeben das er werd sterben und werd wider aufsten, und
5 er also die kristenhait twingt darzü, das sy judischen, und die zeucht er damit [205] zu jm, so er wil, das sy den sambcztag veyren.

Translation:
[1] [180] ... On this topic, Augustine speaks against Faustus, saying: "If you ask why Christians do not rest on Saturday, I will answer that it is because it used to be a sign, but it has now been fulfilled by
[5] Christ." The second reason is that it was changed [185] so that no-one would ever again think that we are still obliged to rest on Saturday on account of the commandment of the Old Testament. He who Judaizes sins gravely.
[577]
[1] [199]... But these I say are the preachers of [200] Antichrist. When he comes, he will order all to rest on Saturday and not Sunday, for he will pretend that he will die and rise again from death, and
[5] so he will force Christendom to Judaize, and he will draw them to himself, as he wants them to rest Saturday.

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[17]. In: Karin Baumann, *Aberglaube für Laien. Zur Programmatik und Überlieferung spätmittelalterlicher Superstitionskritik*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1989; =Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, 6,2), II, 576-577.

[18].

[19]. I.e., those who claim Christians ought to rest and celebrate on Saturday.

6. Middle High German *Historienbibel* (14th/15th C.):[20]

Daniel wissaget und spricht. Der endchrist kompt von tribu[21] in Babilonia und wirt geboren von dem bösten man und wib und wenn er empfangen wirt so fert der böß gaist mit im in und wirt mit im geboren und erzogen und haist ain sun des todes[22] [5] und gelobt alle welt an im und wirt grosse kunst han und würkt falsche zaiche[n] und findt all verborgen schätz. Und haisset sich got und beschnidt sich und haist sich Messias und buwt Salomons tempel wider und setzt sinen kúngstůl darin und loffend all juden gegen im. Und verkert die mentschen mit grossem [10] schrecken und zucht sy mit grossem gold an sich und mit sylber und mit gab und mit andren zaichin und tött alle cristanliche mentsch und tött och Helyas und Enoch die werdent all an dem dritten tag wider lebendig. Und sendt sin zwölff botten und zwen und sybentzig junger in alle land zů bredigen und [15] brediget vierthalb jar und haist sich mitten in dem tempel für got anbetten und zůcht die Juden an sich und spricht, er sye Messias und tritt in die fůßtritt Cristi und spricht er wölle gen himel faren uff dem ölberg.

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[20]. Family I, "Do got in siner magenkraft"; (Tübingen, 1870), II, 487-488.

[21]. A confused translation of the Latin original, "veniat de tribu Dan in Babilonia", 486.

[22]. In the Vulgate, filius perditionis (II. Thess. 2,3): the son of perdition.

Translation:

[1] Daniel prophecies, saying: the Antichrist comes from 'tribu' [the tribe of Dan] in Babylon and is born from the most wicked man and woman and when he is conceived the evil spirit [Satan] will enter [the womb] with him
[5] and will be born and raised with him. He will be called a Son of Death [5] and the whole world will believe in him and he will have great skilland work false miracles and find all hidden treasures. He will call himself God and circumcize himself[23] and call himself the Messiah and
[10] rebuild Salomon's temple and place his throne therein and all the Jews will hasten to him. He will pervert[24] humankind by horrific [10] and frightful signs, large amounts of gold, silver and gifts, and by means of other signs, and he will kill all Christian people as well as
[15] Elias and Enoch, who will be revived on the third day. He will send his twelve messengers[25] and seventy-two disciples out into all lands to preach, [15] and he will preach four-and-a-half years, and order, in the middle of the Temple, that he be worshipped as God, and he will
[20] draw the Jews to himself, saying he is the Messiah, and he will follow Christ's footsteps, saying he wants to ascend to Heaven from the Mount of Olives. [The Antichrist is then killed by heavenly power and the Last Days take their appointed course.]

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[23]. Have himself circumcized.

[24]. Or convert, draw to himself.

[25]. Apostles.

7. Alphonsus a Spina (Alfonso de Espina, bishop of Orense, + 1469), *Fortalicium fidei contra fidei christianae hostes*:[26]

[fol. 145ᵛ, col. 2]
[The Antichrist is born of the tribe of Dan, etc., and grows up evil.]

...Cum ergo venerit iste impius antichristus filii israel qui ab alexandro intra montes Caspios in plaga septentrionali super occianum [oceanum], ubi nunc est finis imperii magni Canis inter duo castra d[i]c[t]a guth[27] et maguth[28] fuerunt inclusi, ut refert magister hystoriarum[29] et secundum Iosephum facto terre motu in conspectu principis, montibus cadentibus super montes ibidem partim montibus partim muro indissolubili et portis ferreis obserati, qui adhuc ibi dicuntur esse incantati nudi incedentes carnibus crudis et arborum fructibus vivunt et in maximo numero consistunt, intantum ut secundum aliquos possent xxiiii regna implere, qui etiam quadam celesti virtute et moncium portarum et murorum firmitate et imperatoris de cathayo scilicet magni Canis, velut regine Amasonum milicia obserati, exire nequeunt, excepto dumtaxat qu[ando] pro monstro ipse magnus Canis aliquos de eis qu[a]n[do]que portis apertis extrahit et mirabili gratia in exercitu suo secum ponit. Isti predicto antichristo adiungentur virtute quorum regnabit et erit monarcha potentissimus. Et congregatis aliis iudeis qui sunt per orbem dispersi, veniens iherosolimam circumcidet se, dicens iudeis se esse christum, ipsis in lege promissum, christum

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[26]. Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, 1471 (Hain 872). At least six further editions appeared in the next fifty years: Basel (1475), Nuremberg (1485), Lyon (1487), Nuremberg (1494), Lyon (1511 and 1525). This following passage is taken from the first printed edition (Strasbourg 1471), book III, consideratio 12, punctus VI, column 2.; fol. 145ᵛ.

[27]. A later hand has amended this in red ink to 'goth'.

[28]. The same later hand has added 'magoth'.

[29]. Peter Comestor.

vero nostrum fuisse deceptorem et magum. Omnes itaque iudei accedentes et ei adherentes confluent ad ipsum, quia ipsi nimio desiderio fervent de adventu messie, per quem expectant a captivitate liberari, decepti signis, et alecti promissis. Et quia videbunt eum omni prosperitate et gloria clarescere, regesque subiugare, ideo illi longo excecati errore, eum tamquam verum messiam

[fol. 146r, col. 1]

suum recipient, et ut deum colent, et tamquam rex et dominus ab ipsis metuetur. Et propterea apostolus ii. ad thessalonicen[ses] secundo vocat eum hominum peccati, filium perdicionis qui adversatur et extollitur supra omne qu[od] dicitur deus. Aut quod colitur ita ut in templo dei ipse sedeat quid edificabit in iherusiloma secundum quosdam, vel ut verius loquar, secundum alios, ipse se dicet templum dei, ostendens se tamquam ipse deus sit [:] hoc est quod dicit beatus augustinus xx. de civitate dei, xix c[apitulo], quod illud quod nos habemus de antichristo in templo dei sedeat, greci habent in templum dei sedeat, tamquam inquit augustinus ipse sit templum dei, id est ecclesia, ex quo dicto accipitur argumentum quod antichristus erit falsus christianus et finget se virum ecclesiasticum accomodatius nocendum qui in templum dei, id est in modum ecclesie, ait augustinus.
Hoc idem vult franciscus de maronis[10] in iiii di[stinctione] xlvii q[uaestione] ii allegans augustinus ubi supra ipse etiam ut facilius christianos et iudeos ad ritum suum attrahit, diem dominicum in favorem christianorum, et diem sabbati in favorem iudeorum faciet custodiri, ut patiet in decretis de conse[cratione] di[stinctione] iii pervenit. Sic ergo patet quomodo iudei decipientur ab antichristo et quomodo recipient eum ut messiam suum et colent.

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[10]. Francis of Meyronnes, ca. 1285 - after 1328; the reference is to his *Sentences Commentary*. See B. Roth, *Franz von Mayronis* (Werl, 1936).

Septimus punctus est scire quomodo iudei cognoscent se deceptos per antichristum et quomodo convertentur finaliter ad fidem catholicam. Notandum ergo quod postquam iudei receperunt antichristum tamquam messiam suum, decepti ex hiis qui dicta sunt in precedenti puncto. Tunc mittet deus ad eorum et aliorum multorum conversionem Helyam et Enoch ...

[The prophets preach, are martyred, then resurrected, and the Antichrist is killed on the Mount of Olives. The author adduces numerous 'proof-texts' from the Hebrew and Christian Bibles that are supposed to foretell the final conversion of the Jews (a small number of them, at least) to Christianity.]

8. *Compendium de vita antichristi*:[31]

Quinto circa processum antichristi nota quatuor: Quarto nota in qua etate incipient hec omnia quae ecclesiastici iiii dicitur: "Vidi coniunctos [sic] viventes qui ambulant sub sole cum adolescente secundo..."[32] id est anti-[5]christo. nam primus adolescens salutis fuit christus. Circa cultum eius nota iiii per quam attrahet ad se diversos cultus. Primo enim ut attrahet ad se Iudeos dicet se messiam promissum in lege verum deum et verum hominem et reedificabit templum salo. [Salomonis] (II Thess. 2).

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[31]. Anon., printed in 1475. Bound together with Jean Gerson, 'Disputatio inter clericum et militem super potestatem prelatis ecclesie atque principibus terrarum commissa sub forma dyalogi'. The passage cited here is from the fifth point, note 4.

[32]. Vulgate, Ecc. 4,15: "vidi cunctos viventes qui ambulant sub sole cum adulescente secundo qui consurgit pro eo.". *Biblia Sacra*, 990.

9. Hans Folz, *Ein Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund*:[13]

[The Sibyl appears in the first act and is received by the 'prince', the Duke of Burgundy, son of Kaiser Maximilian. She is asked to explain why she has come.]

[171]

SIBILLA DICIT:
Genediger herr, ich han vernumen,
Wie das etlich judisch rabi
Durch all gegent verkunden, wi
Ir messias vorhanden sei,
Und melden auch vorauß dabei
wie er alle konigkreich nem ein,
Darzu alle furstenthum gemein,
Laß auch nit hin all geistlich stent.
Nu hab ich am gestirn erkent,
Wie wol die zeit allein waiß got,
Das es doch nirgend stat noch hot,
Des ich mecht vil gezeuknus han,
Die ich umb kurz willen fur laß gan.
Darumb so keren die rabi zu uns herein,
So mach ich ir lug offenlich schein,
Wann nach meiner waren proficei
Nehen sie sich gar vast herbei.

HIE GET DER MESSIAS MIT DREIEN RABI UND EINEM SCHALLAT JUDEN, DER SPRICHT:

Weicht auß, tret umbe und ruckt von stat!
Ir habt lang genug innen gehabt
Gewalt, herschaft und regiment,
Das nu alles wurd sein end.
Wir haben doch so lang geharrt,
Piß sich begeben hat ein fart,
Das wir aucg kumen sein zum pret,
Das ir zwar nit noch gedacht het.

[172]

EIN RABI:
Ir Cristen, do tret an ein ort,
Weicht in die winkel da und dort
Und laßt uns auch herschen ein weil,
Wann er ist nit von hinn ein meil,

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[13]. A. von Keller, ed. *Fastnachtsspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, I (Stuttgart, 1853; =BLVS 28; reprinted 1965), 169-190.

Hie stet er, der fort wirt regiren,
Daran in niemant mer mag geirren.
Ir habt gemutwilt lange zeit,
Dann ruckt zusamen und macht weit!

DER NARR:
Ei hat dich der teufel herein getragen?
Wolst du uns all in die winkel jagen?
Ich wolt dich ee selber arspossen,
Ein har nit in deiner schwarten loßen.

MARSCHALK:
Was sagst du, Jud, dann darzu?

DER ANDER RABI:
Merk eben, was ich darzu thu!
Ich kund euch hie Messiam, wist,
Der uns lange zeit verkundt ist,
Und wirt die judischeit erheben.

DER NARR:
Ich torst dir wol eins auf das maul geben,
Du schwarzer hunt! Was meinst du damit?
Ge dannen, das ich dich schut der rit!

DER DRITT RABI:
Was durft ir des narren spil?
Hie ist Messias schlecht und wil,
Das ir im all gelobt und schwert.

DER NARR:
Ach das man die dein maul nit pert
Mit einem zellen auß einem prifet
[173]
Und dich nit drus und peulen anget!

HOFMEISTER DICIT ZU DEM RABI:
Sag auch dein meinung, mach ein ent!

DER NARR:
Ja ee man mit dir in mist rennt.

DER VIERT RABI FELLT DEM MESSIAS ZU FUSZ UND SPRICHT:
O heiliger, unser hail und trost,
Durch den all Juden sein erlost,
Laßt pald ein zeichen werden schein!
Es wil sust ganz nicht mit uns sein
Und macht dem volk ein wenig vorcht,
Sust wirt nichts gutß an uns gerucht.

HIE GET EIN TRACH UND SPEIT FEUR AUSZ. DER NARR SPRICHT:
Pox grint, was teufels pist dan du?
Seh einer dem schnoden merwolf zu!

SIBILLA SPRICHT:
Ich peut die, trach, bei Jesus craft,
Das du von dir nit hie werd geschaft,
Dann das du sitlich weichest ab,
Piß ich hie klar geoffent hab,
Was dise zauberei bedeut,
Darmit ir Juden dann ander leut
Und euch selber so grob anligt
Und mit dem falschen Endecrist triegt.
Dan eins bescheid mich, ob duß pist,
Sag, warumb heist du der Entcrist?

ENDCRIST:
Secht, das ist schlecht davon der sin,
Das ich ein ent der Cristen bin.

[...]

[179]
SIBILLA:
Falscher Messias, so ste auf palt,
Erzel hie vor ganzer gemein,
Was dein anschleg gewesen sein,
Groß schalkheit und auch zaubrei,
Das all Cristen versten dabei
Eur falsch anschleg und eur posheit,
Des gib hie folligen bescheit.

ENDCRIST DICIT:
O genediger furst und werde frau,
Ir zwinget mich so hart und gnau
Mit eurem cristenlichem gewalt,
Das ich nichts heimlich dahinden behalt,
Sunder das ist die grost ursach,
Wir han nu talast ungemach
Gehabt wol xiiii.c jar,
Und in solicher zeit furwar
Gar vil geliden von den Cristen.

[180]
Ja wann sie dennoch dabei wisten,
Was großer fluch, was haß und neit
Wir in stet han getragen seit,
Wie vil groß guts in abgeraubt,
Wie vil an irem leben getaubt,
Der erzet wir gewesen sein,
Wie vil der jungen kindelein

In angestolen und getot
Und mit irem keuschem plut gerot
Und die euch Cristen abgefurt
Zu smach der jerlichen gepurt
Jesu, die ir ewig beget,
Des haß und neid uns so bestet,
Das es all unser freud vertreibt
Und Messias so lang außen bleibt
Und in kein weg uns trostet nicht;
Deshalb hab wir diß zugericht,
Meinten als volk gereizet han,
Uns ganz zu werden untertan.
Das hat uns vil zu schir gefelt,
Bleibt furpas mer wol ab gestelt,
Piß das er selber kumpt ein mal;
Dann wer uns iez dieser unfal
Allein darzu geschlagen nicht,
So hetten wir zuversicht,
Die ganz judischeit must sein verdorben
Oder all Cristen darumb gestorben.

Translation:

[171]
[9] SIBILLA SAYS:
[10] Your Grace, I have heard
That many Jewish Rabbis
Are telling in all regions
That their Messiah has arrived,
And are prophecying
[15] That he will conquer all kingdoms
And all principalities,
And will not leave out the clerical estate.
Now I have seen in the stars,
Although God alone knows the precise time,
[20] That there is nowhere any sign of such a thing,
Of which I have much proof,
Which I will leave out for brevity's sake.
The Rabbis are headed here now to announce this,
And I will make their lie apparent to all,
[25] For according to my authentic prophecy,
They are approaching right now.

THE MESSIAH ENTERS WITH THREE RABBIS AND A PEDDLAR JEW, WHO SAYS:
Move over, step aside and get out the way!
You have been in charge long enough
[30] Of power, lordship and government;
Now that has all come to an end.
We have waited so long
For this campaign to start
That we have now come to the hour of reckoning,[34]
[35] Which has not yet even occurred to you Christians.

[172]
[1] A RABBI:
You Christians, step aside
Press into the corners over there, and there,
And let us rule for a time,
[5] For he is not even a mile away,
Here he stands, he who will rule from now on,
No-one can stop him now.
You have ruled the roost for a long time,
Now push over and make room!

[10] THE FOOL:

---

[34]. This is what is intended by the expression 'arrived at the counting-table'.

Hey, did the Devil himself drag you in?
You want to drive us all into the corners?
I'll kick your arse first
And tear out every hair of your beard.

THE MARSHAL:
What do you say to that, Jew?

THE SECOND RABBI:
Just watch what I do!
I announce to you the Messiah,
Who, as you know, has been promised to us for ages past,
And who will rouse all Jewry.

THE FOOL:
I'll give you one in the teeth,
You blackhearted dog! What do you mean by this?
Get away! Let the shaking fever take you!

THE THIRD RABBI:
What profits you this fool's play?
Here is the Messiah, easy as that,
Waiting for you to take your oath to him.

THE FOOL:
You should be whacked in the mouth
with a stick taken from a cess-pool.
[173]
A plague of boils on you!

MAJOR-DOMO TO THE RABBI:
Say your piece, and make it fast!

THE FOOL:
Before we pitch you onto the dung-heap.

THE FOURTH RABBI FALLS TO THE FEET OF THE MESSIAH AND SAYS:
O Holy One, our salvation and our hope,
Through whom all the Jews are saved,
Quick, cause a wondrous sign to appear!
Otherwise we will not be left whole,
Scare these people a bit,
Or we will not be treated kindly.

HERE A DRAGON APPEARS SPITTING FIRE. THE FOOL SAYS:
Odds boils, what demon's brood are you?
Just look at this shabby werewolf!

THE SIBYL SAYS:

Listen, dragon, I'm telling you by the power of Jesus
You can do nothing here,
Except to stand back politely
Until I have clearly revealed
What this magic trick means,
With which you Jews so stupidly attempt to
fool other people and yourselves,
And to deceive with your false Antichrist.
Then tell me one thing, if you are he;
Why are you called the Antichrist?

ANTICHRIST:
Well, this is the reason, quite simply,
I shall put an end to the Christians [End-Christ].

[The Sibyl routs the dragon; finally, the 'false Messiah'/Antichrist drinks a curse on the Christians. After he drinks, he stands straight up, faints and falls down. The 'false Messiah' turns out to be powerless.]

[179]
SIBYL:
False Messiah, stand up now,
Tell everyone assembled here
What your plan was,
Your great slyness and your magical art
So that all Christians will understand
Your false pretensions and your wickedness,
Tell us the whole truth now.

THE ANTICHRIST SAYS:
O merciful prince and worthy lady,
You press me so hard and precisely
With your Christian might,
That I can keep nothing hidden.
This is the main reason:
We have been in misery now
For fourteen hundred years
And in that time
Suffered a great deal at the hands of Christians.
[180]
And yet if only they knew
What great curses, what hatred and envy
We have always harbored for them,
How much we have stolen from them,
How many whose lives we have spoiled
Of those to whom we were physicians;
How many young children
We have stolen from them and killed

And stained red with their innocent blood
As well as we stole from you Christians
To dishonor the yearly birth
Of Jesus, which you always celebrate,
Whose hatred and envy is with us so constantly
That it drives away all our pleasures
And the Messiah is so long in coming
And does nothing to comfort us,
This is why we did this to you,
Thinking to trick all peoples
Into subjecting themselves to us.
We would have liked that a great deal,
But that will have to wait
Until he himself comes;
Then this disaster would not
Have happened to us,
And we would be confident
That all Jewry must be destroyed
Or all Christians would die.

[The Jews are tried and condemned to a variety of unspeakably foul and humiliating tortures]

10. Pamphilius Gengenbach (ca.1480-1524/25), *Der Nollhart*:[35]

fol. q iii^{r}

Der Jud fragt den Bruder
So du so ein gůter wysag bist
Sag mir wenn kumpt der Endtchrist/
Oder wann sol er werden gboren
Ich halt dich sunst für einen thoren.
Wann wir sein gwartet hand biß har
Jetz me dann fünffzehenhundert jar
Sibenzehen und ettlich tag/
Ich fleißlich bit das selb mir sag.
Der brůder:
Du verflůchter Jud ich dir das sag
Es lyt ouch clorlich an dem tag
Jacob hat es wol ußgeleit
Do er unß von der schlangen seit
Der Endtchrist wirt ein ursprung han
Von eim geschlecht das heisset Dan

fol. q iii^{v}

Von dem Judas ouch was geboren
Der doch ewiglich ist verloren.
Der Jud:
Nun saltu weiter bscheiden meich
Wo er wirt uffenthalten seich/
In welcher stat er gboren werd
wie lang er ouch regier uff erd
Und wann die wa'lt ouch werd zergon
Das soltu mich hie wissen lon/
Der Brůder:
Er wirt geboren hie vernim
In eir [einer] stat heißt Chorosaim/
Und yn Bethsaida erzogen
Vyl volck wirt dann von im betrogen/
In Capharanaum wirt er regieren[36]
Diß stet werden fast iubilieren/

---

[35]. Basel, 1517 (Wolfenbüttel 263 Quod.). A modern edition has been prepared by V. Uffer, *Der Nollhart* (Stuttgart/Bern, 1982; =Schweizer Texte, 1). See H. Rupprich, *Die deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock Erster Teil (1371-1520)*, (Munich, 1970), 287.

[36]. Cf. the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius.

Darumb sy gott verfluᶜchet hat/
Als imm Ewangelio gschriben stat.
Ouch wirt er sich beschniden lan
Dry küng werden im hangen an
Gog und Magog wirt ußgelossen
Die Alexander hat beschlossen
Die werden die Christen fast betruᶜben
Und ouch groß truᶜbsal yn zůfůgen.
Es wirt ouch ein küngin von Mason [Amason]
Mit vyl der iuden zů im kom
Meinendt ir messias sy uff erden
Gar fast sie sich dann froᶜwen werden.
Vyl zeichen wirt er thůn die zyt
Do mit er dann betrügt die lüt.
Der Jud
O brůder dyse red laß ston
Ich wolt das er solt morgen kon
Dann wir sein wol so lang hand gwart

fol. g ivᶠ

Wann wir gepinget sind so hart
Von christen jetz an allen enden
Wann unß dann got wurd disen senden
Woltens wirs [sic] in gar wol gedencken
Ouch yn zwyfach wyder intreken
Der brůder
O wie ein schnoᶜder jud du bist/
Weist nit das er lengst kommen ist
Gab Jacob dir nit zu verston
Von Juda wurd nit der zaᶜpter gnon [genommen]
Es kaᶜm dann der / der zsenden ist
Luᶜg ob das nit sy Jesu crist
So bald der selb uff erd ist kummen
So ward der zaᶜpter von eüch gnummen/
Das do gschach durch das Roᶜmisch reich
Also sind ir gantz ellendtgleich
Inn all diß waᶜlt worden zerstroᶜwt
Christus hats eüch ouch clorlich gseit
Do er bitterlich gweinet hat
Uber Jherusalem die stat.
Hoᶜr wie es dem Endtcrist wirt gon
was jm got geben wirt zů lon
So er hat nun vyl boßheit triben
Und sich den waren got geschriben
Vyl fuᶜrsten herren an sich bracht
So wil er dann uß teüfels macht
Gen hymmel faren christo gleich

Der senden wirt auß sinem reich
Den ertzengel sant Michael
Der yn mit iomer und ouch gvel
wirt nider schlagen zů der erden
So wirst du jud betrogen werden!

Translation:

[fol. g iii^{r}]

The Jew asks the friar
Since you are such a good diviner,
Tell me when the Antichrist will come,
Or when he will be born.
Otherwise I will know you are a fool.
We have waited for him now
More than fifteen hundred years
And seventeen, and many days besides:
I beg of you, answer my question.
The Friar:
You damnable Jew, I will tell you;
It is quite obvious, and
Jacob made it very clear
Where he tells us of the serpent[37]
The Antichrist will be descended
From the tribe of Dan

[fol. g iii^{v}]

From which Judas also was born,
Who is forever damned and lost.
The Jew:
Now tell me further
Where he will abide
In which city he will be born
And how long he will reign on earth
And when the world will pass away
Tell me these things here and now.
The Friar:
Listen then! He will be born
In a city called Chorosaim [Khorasan]
And brought up in Bethsaida.
Many people will then be deceived by him,
And he will rule in Capharnaum.
These cites will rejoice greatly
For which God has cursed them,
As the Gospel says.
He will also have himself circumcized
And three kings will follow him.
Gog and Magog, whom Alexander enclosed,

---

[37]. Genesis 49,17: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path.."

Will be let loose:
They will cause great misery in Christendom
And create much pain and suffering.
And the Queen of the Amazons will also
Come to him with many Jews[38]
Who think their Messiah is on earth:
They will be delighted indeed.
At this time he will work many signs [wonders]
With which he will deceive people.
The Jew:
O friar, say no more;
I wish he would come tomorrow
Because we have been waiting for him for so long

[fol. g iv']

And because we are pressed so hard
By Christians everywhere and always.
If God were to send him to us,
We would be very grateful
And doubly return [his investment in us? -- unclear]
The Friar:
O, what a vile Jew you are!
Don't you know that he came long ago?
Didn't Jacob make it clear
That the scepter would not depart from Judah
Until he came who is to be sent?
You lie if you say this is not Jesus Christ.
As soon as he came to earth,
The scepter was taken from you.
This was done by the Roman Empire.
Therefore you were scattered
In great misery all over the world.
Christ also spoke clearly to you
When he wept bitter tears
Over the city of Jerusalem.
Now hear how the Antichrist will fare,
And how God will reward him:
After he has done much evil,
And declared himself the True God,
When he has won over many princes and lords,
He will desire, by demonic powers,
To ascend to Heaven just as Christ did.
Christ will send from his kingdom
The Archangel Saint Michael

---

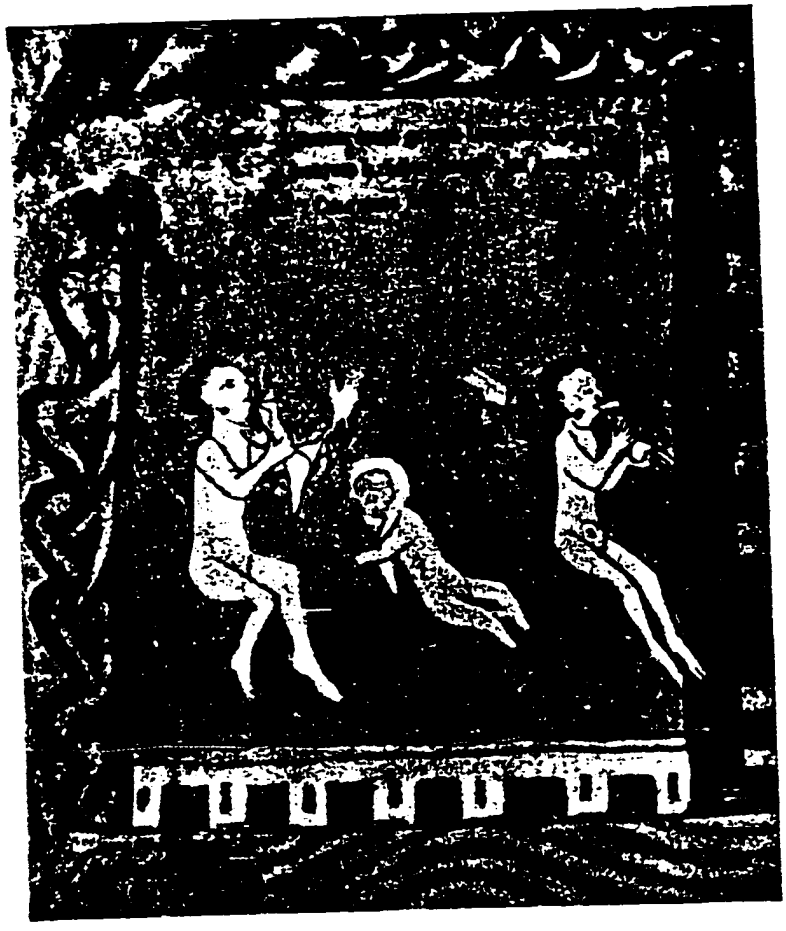
[38]. Cf. the Red Jews in the *Antichrist* books.

[30] Who will strike down the Antichrist,
Casting him deep into misery and disgrace.
And this is how you will be deceived, Jew!

[Enoch and Elijah are resurrected, preach to the whole world, convert the nations, and the Last Judgment takes place.

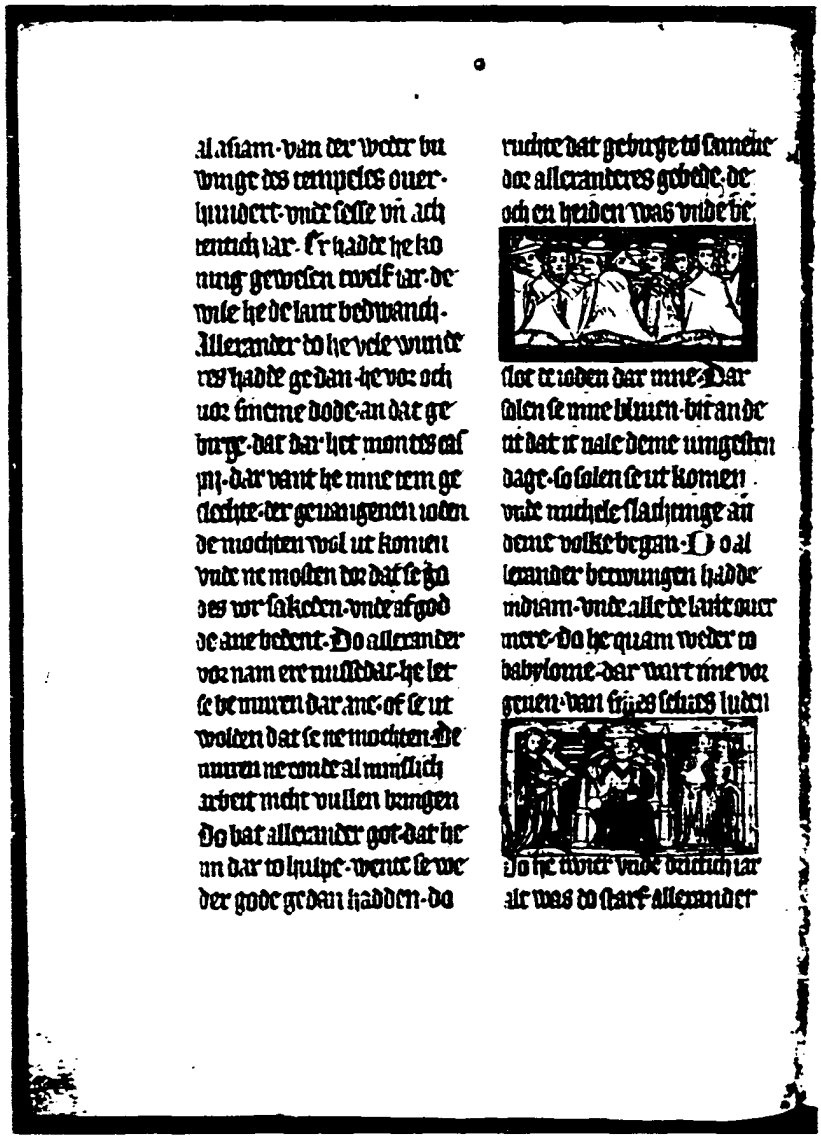
APPENDIX D: ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Ebstorf World Map (1235): Gog and Magog eating human flesh and drinking human blood, as specified by the caption.



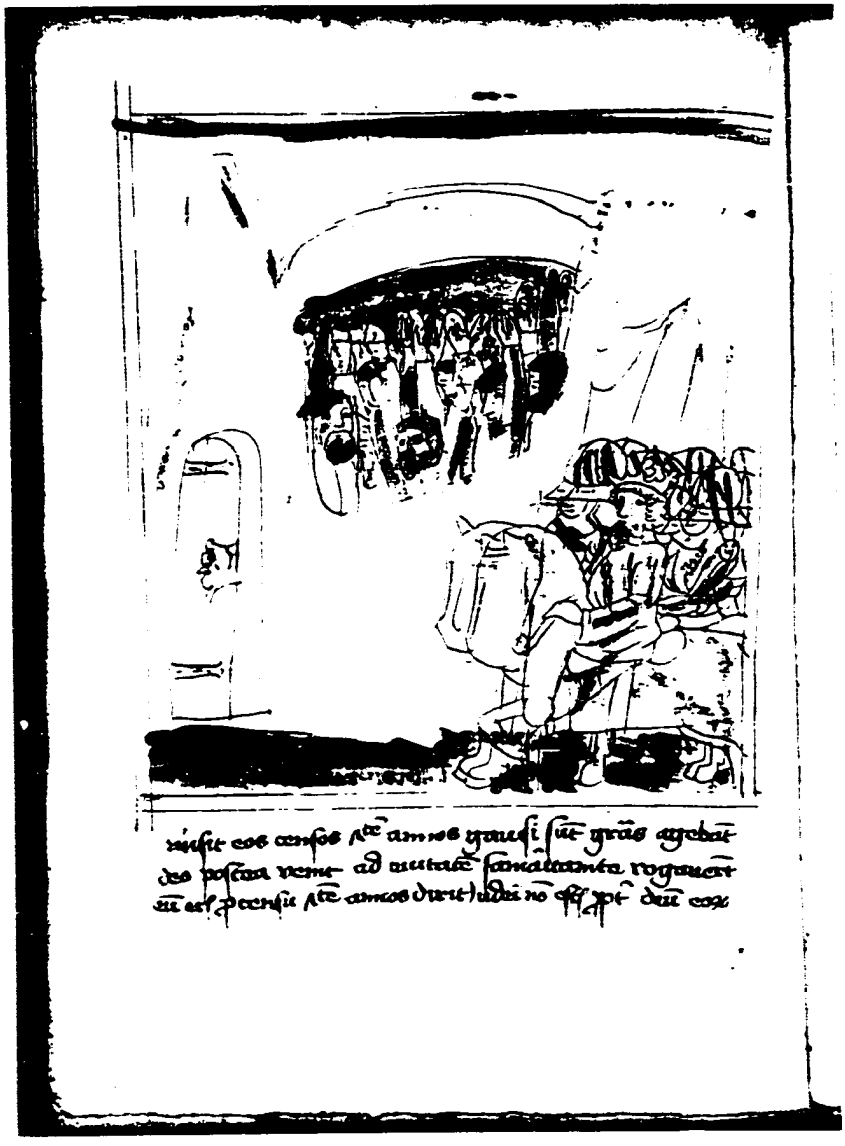
Leo Bagrow and R.A. Skelton, *Die Meister der Kartographie* (Berlin, 1973), 315.

2. Sächsische Weltchronik (Saxon Chronicle, c. 1320); the 'enclosed Jews':



Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung (Ms. germ. 2° 129, fol. 15ᵛ)

3. Historiated Bible I. 15th century manuscript; the 'enclosed Jews', depicted with red hair and beards (Alexander's beard is blonde here and throughout)



Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung (Ms. germ. 2° 565, fol. 531')

4. Pseudo-Methodius. *Revelationes*. Basel: Michael Furter, 1498:

a) Alexander prays, kneeling, asking God to enclose Gog and Magog in the Caspian Mountains. Gog and Magog are the two demonic kings at the top; the armed hordes inside the mountains are their people.

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 30.4 Poet. 1, fol. b iiii^{r}.

b) Gog and Magog break out of the Caspian Mountains at the end of time.

¶ Quomodo Gog et Magog exeūtes de caspys mōtibus obtinent terrā Israhel

¶ In nouissimis vero temporibus secundū Ezechielis prophetiam que dicit. In nouissimo die consumatiōis mundi exiet Gog et Magog in terram Israel: q̄ sunt gentes et reges quos reclusit Alexander magnus in finibus aquilonis et in finibus septentrionis Gog et Magog Mosach et Thubal et Anog et Ageg et

Hec ppha hr Ezech xxxviii ca. xx. xxix. ca eiusdē. Apoc xx. ca. Johannes p̄dixit de illis gentibus q̄facient sertā ꝯsecutionem sup ecclam in hec vba. Cū consumati fuerint. ꝛc.

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 30.4 Poet. (1), fol. b v'.

5. *Der Antichrist* (Strasbourg, 1480):

a) An apostle of the Antichrist preaches to the Red Jews and the Queen of the Amazons.

Mer ein ander des Enndkrist pot predigt der kunigin von Ama
son/vnd den roten juden· die der groß allexander in den gebyrgē
Caspie beschlossen het · Vnd die selben juden kumen uß zů des
Enndkrist zyten/als sanctus Jeronimus beschribt·

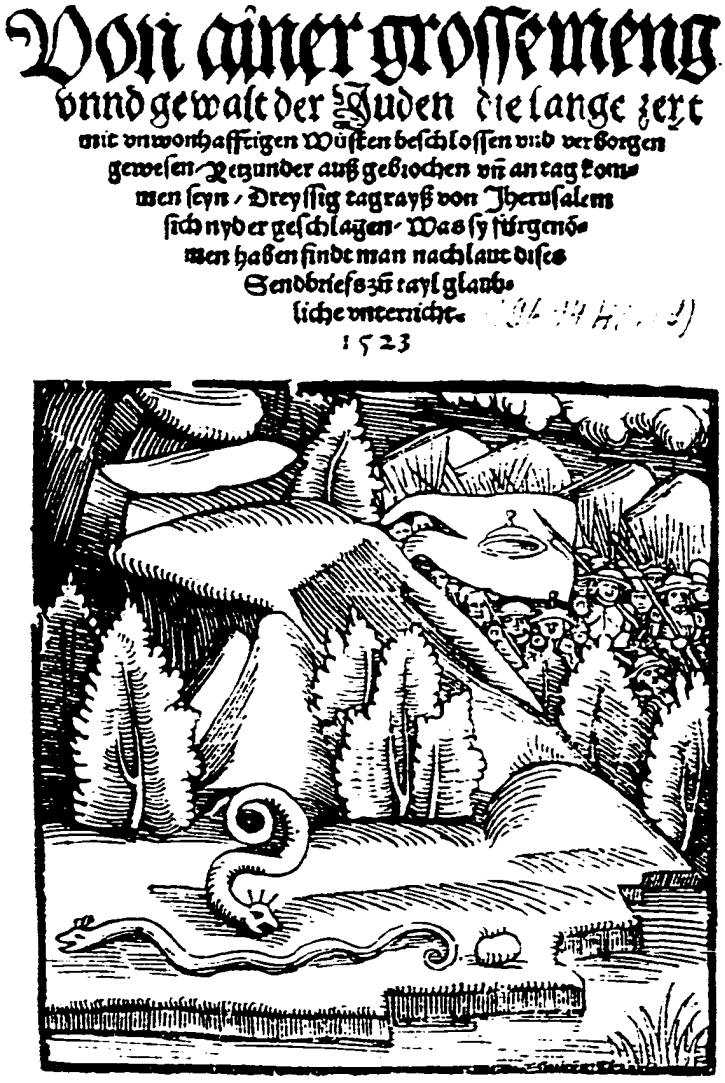
Der Antichrist. Faksimile der ersten typographischen Ausgabe (Inkunabel der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Inc. fol. 116), ed. Friedrich Wittig Verlag. Hamburg, 1979; fol. 13b.

b) The Red Jews and the Queen of the Amazons march to Jerusalem.

Nun hebt ſich an der zůczug von aller welt · Vnd von allen kun-
gen zů dem Ennodkriſt/die an jn gelouben wellen· Des erſtē pæ
chen die roten juden uſz. vnd die tůnd der welt groſs not· vnd
die ſelben Juden heiſſen gog·vnd magog·vnd ir zehē geſchlecht
Vnd die kungin von Nmaſon zůcht ouch zů dem Ennodkriſt·

Der Antichrist, fol. 14b.

6. *Von ainer grosse meng // unnd gewalt der Juden die lange zeyt // mit unwonhafftigen Wüsten beschlossen und verborgen // gewesen/Ietzunder außgebrochen und an tag kom= // men seyn/Dreyssig tagrayß von Jherusalem // sich nydergeschlagen/ Was sy fu'rgenom= // men haben findt man nach laut dises // Sendbriefs zum tayl glaub= // liche unterricht. // 1523.* Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1523


Von ainer grossemeng
vnnd gewalt der Juden die lange zeyt
mit vnwonhafftigen Wüsten beschlossen vnd verborgen
gewesen Yetzunder auß gebrochen vñ an tag kom-
men seyn / Dreyssig tagrayß von Jherusalem
sich nyder geschlagen Was sy fürgenō-
men haben findt man nachlaut dises
Sendbriefs zū tayl glaub-
liche unterricht.
1523

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 196.14 Hi. (9), fol. i'.

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Abbreviations:

BLVS = Bibliothek des Literarischen [Litterarischen] Vereins zu Stuttgart. Stuttgart, 1843-

CChr = Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954-

CChrCM = Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina. Continuatio Medievalis. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971-

MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica. 1826-

PL = Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1844-

WA = Dr. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Weimar, 1883-1983.

WAT = Dr. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden. Weimar, 1912-1921.

Wolfenbüttel = Herzog August Bibliothek

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widerkommen, das gelobte Land einnehmen, und das // Israelitische Königreich wider anrichten kónnen? ... Von // Einem Liebhaber der Wahrheit // hervor gegeben // Im Jahr 1666 (Wolfenbüttel 317.63 Th. (13)).

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